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The American Historical Association, 1890-1891. The Minutes of the members; the Executive Council of the Association; the Minutes of the Board of Editors.

Correspondence is invited from all persons who are interested in the history of the United States, and who are willing to contribute to the Association. The Association is a non-profit organization, and its purpose is to promote the study of the history of the United States. The Association is a non-profit organization, and its purpose is to promote the study of the history of the United States. The Association is a non-profit organization, and its purpose is to promote the study of the history of the United States.

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THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
1890-1891



The  
**American Historical Review**

TRUTH IN HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

"PILATE saith unto Him, What is Truth?" Thus ends the report of one of the most famous conversations ever recorded. That the colloquy should have terminated without an answer to the question of the Roman procurator, must always raise regret in the mind of the reader and the writer of history. For we are told often and conclusively that history has truth for its subject-matter and the discovery of truth for its end. An authoritative definition of truth, therefore, would have been a priceless boon. It has indeed been often asserted that the question of Pilate was interrogative in form only, and that his real thought was to affirm the hopelessness of ever reaching a definition. If such was the case, one might reasonably conjecture that the Roman had lately been engaged in historical research; for in no other occupation is there more powerful stimulus to the despair that his remark expresses. The optimist who has assured us that truth will out, even in an affidavit, was a lawyer; the devotee of history would never commit himself to so cheerful a dogma.

It is a commonplace, however, that the pursuit of an end is as useful, at least, as the attainment. The boy who seeks the pot of gold at the foot of the rainbow acquires valuable information in the quest. No limit can be imagined to the curiosity of man, once having become self-conscious, as to the past. History is the name we give to the result of his efforts to satisfy this curiosity. The earliest beginnings of these efforts bring perplexity. The phenomena of the past are no less complex than those of the present and the truth about them is no less elusive. History, therefore, as an aggregate of facts for investigation, requires subdivision and analysis. Not all truth, but certain aspects or classes of truth, are

<sup>1</sup> Annual address of the president of the American Historical Association delivered at Charleston, December 29, 1913.

the subject-matter of the science, if science it be. I know of no serious contention by anybody that all past phenomena, without discrimination, are properly the field of the historian. I likewise am aware that no problem will call forth more violent debate than the bounding of the field—the determination of what is within and what is without it.

For my present purpose I am going to assume that the province of history is to ascertain and present in their causal sequence such phenomena of the past as exerted an unmistakable influence on the development of men in social and political life. Such an assumption will occasion, I suppose, certain liftings of the eyebrows and shruggings of the shoulders among colleagues in this association for whom I have the profoundest respect; but I must bear with such fortitude as is vouchsafed to me the consequences of my rashness.

How did the primitive Aryans fatten their swine for slaughtering (if there ever were Aryans, and if they ever were primitive, and if they ate pork); what was the favorite cosmetic of Alcibiades; what was the bacteriological species of the maggots that St. Simeon Stylites piously replaced when they lost their hold on his sores; what was the color of the horse that bore Washington at the battle of Monmouth: all these questions concern truth as to the past, but shall we call the answers to them history?

It would indeed be scientific heresy to deny that any of the phenomena referred to could possibly have been influential in human development. In these days no science is sure of its footing until it has proclaimed its special interpretation of history. The economic, the sociological, the metallurgical, the pathologic, the meteorological, the astronomical, the geological, and, for aught I know, the geometrical interpretations are in heated rivalry. It is therefore unsafe to say that the most obscure and least suspected fact of the past will not appear to-morrow as the hinge on which man's whole career has turned. But pending the newest revelation of this sort we are privileged to approach the study of the past under guidance of a series of presumptions, among which is this, that such phenomena as have been mentioned are not of the first importance.

In dealing with matters that *are* presumed to be of high importance the student of history is confronted with the problems concerning truth in all their diversity. He must ascertain the objective actualities—the occurrences that impressed the senses of men; he must ascertain the chronological order of these occurrences; he must strive, at least, to ascertain the causal nexus between them.

The last of these tasks is by no means the least. As we have lately been warned by the dean of the historical gild in America,

Dr. Jameson, with his wonted force and precision, "the stream of history is a stream of causation". To resolve the forces and detect the relations that underlie the movement of this current, demands an exceptional endowment and an unstinted application of intellectual strength. For about a century now this particular field of activity has been less diligently cultivated by the scientific historian, and it has been his special aim to achieve exactness in the first of the above-mentioned aspects of truth. He must know precisely what happened and he must know it from the original contemporary evidence. A secondary or derived account of an event must be presumed false. The longer such an account has been accepted as true, the more likely it is false. If the account runs back into immemorial antiquity, the event never happened, and the matter does not concern history at all, but belongs in the outer darkness of anthropology or sociology.

The effects of this trend of thinking on the study and writing of history during the last two generations have been remarkable. A cyclone of criticism has swept through the populous realm of pseudo-historical traditions and the region is thickly strewn with the *disjecta membra* of their proud and often most beautiful forms. The search for original material has occupied the first place in the attention of historical students and has proved beneficent in two ways at least: it has enormously increased the mass of such material for the use of the man competent to make a synthesis from it, and it has furnished an all-engrossing occupation for many who might otherwise have tried their hands, and the patience of their readers, in the hopeless task of synthesizing. The high ratio of monographic collections of material to organized and literary narrative is one of the most familiar characteristics of recent publications in history.

The absorbing and relentless pursuit of the objective fact—of the thing that actually happened in exactly the form and manner of its happening, is, I take it, thus, the typical function of the modern devotee of history. Certain corollaries and consequences of this conception are obvious. In the first place it tends greatly to limit the scope of history. Again, it tends to stress the material as compared with the spiritual or psychic forces and influences in human life. Further, it reduces to the minimum the consideration of causal nexus, and tends to limit history to the *post hoc*, regardless of the *propter hoc*. Finally, it tends unduly to limit regard for the influence of what men believed to be true, as compared with what was true.

Every serious student of history knows the thrill that comes with the discovery of an unknown or a forgotten fact of the past. In

comparison, the joy of the gold or diamond hunter over a "find" is indeed moderate. Especially keen and spicy is the satisfaction of historical discovery when it implies the erroneousness of long-standing beliefs and enables the discoverer to proclaim the most eminent and authoritative chroniclers of the past the victims of ignorance and illusion. The "reconstruction of history" is always in the mind of the investigator, whether consciously or unconsciously, and in the intoxication of an actual discovery of new truth he is very prone to foresee a reconstruction vastly greater than what actually takes place. The current of humanity's past obstinately continues to move before his eyes in the same old channel with but a trifling little jog, though the new revelation seems to require a great displacement all along the course.

Why is this so? Why do the achievements of historical research, in bringing to light the truth about the individual events of the past, change so slightly the broad picture? This is the question to which I wish to devote some particular attention in this place. The answer to it cannot be a simple one, and I do not aspire to make mine complete. I would merely suggest, as in some measure, at least, influential, this fact, that the course of human history is determined no more by what is true than by what men believe to be true; and therefore that he who brings to light a past occurrence of which he is the first to have knowledge is likely to be dealing with what is no real part of history. The phenomena of social life, so far as they are determined at all by the will of man, are due in origin and sequence to conditions as they appear to contemporaries, not to conditions as revealed in their reality to the historian centuries later. Or if the lesson of the past is sought as a guide to any policy, the lesson that is learned and acted upon is derived from the error that passes as history at the time, not from the truth that becomes known long after.

Many a fact of history is like the grain of sand that intrudes within the shell of the pearl oyster. Tiny and insignificant, it is quickly lost to sight and knowledge; but about it are deposited the ensphering layers of myth and legend till a glimmering treasure is produced that excites the mightiest passions of men. Under the charm of its beauty, art, religion, civilization, is developed; through the lust to possess it a dynasty is overthrown, an empire falls into ruin. The historian may crush the pearl and bring to light the grain of sand; but he cannot persuade us that the sand made all the intervening history.

Consider some of the salient incidents in the history of history that throw light on this doctrine. Take the history of Rome, for



example. Nothing is more familiar or more amazing than the influence of this history on certain phases of civilized life in Europe down to the nineteenth century of our era. So far as the moral, legal, and political development of West-European nations were determined by the conscious purpose of men, that purpose was shaped by the lessons of recorded Roman experience. All the great leaders of thought and action were steeped in the tradition of the Tiberine city—its rise, its greatness, and its decay. Theologians, jurists, and statesmen of both the secular and the ecclesiastical class sought in the institutions of the Roman people solutions for the problems of medieval and modern times. And the solutions were in no rare instances forthcoming. But what was the character of the history on which depended thus the course of civilized life? It was for the most part the history that we find in Livy and Vergil—a congeries of myths, legends, traditions, and patriotic fancies, animated throughout by a purpose to glorify a not too glorious people. The superhuman valor and virtue of the early Roman heroes—Cincinnatus, Camillus, and the rest; the godlike sagacity of the lawmakers who devised and the statesmen who applied the constitution of the republic; the resplendent genius of the military leaders and the perfection of the military system in the days of the great conquests: all these have been reduced to the proper level by the critical historians of the nineteenth century. But this was after the fabulous elements so ruthlessly extirpated from Roman history had served effectively for ages in shaping the thoughts and deeds and aspirations of men. It was after the genius of Dante had fixed the trend of the medieval mind by assigning to Pagan Rome a high place in the favor of God and an indispensable part in the scheme of Christian redemption. It was after the cynical Machiavelli had projected a powerful influence into the affairs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by deriving from the tales of Romulus and Numa and Virginius and Fabius and Scipio his astute but unmoral maxims of both princely and popular polity. And it was after the erudite Montesquieu had found in the annals of Rome's greatness and decay the most impressive illustrations of those principles which he so effectively taught to succeeding generations through his famous *Spirit of the Laws*.

Early in the nineteenth century Niebuhr began the process of proving that Dante and Machiavelli and Montesquieu, however ingenious and impressive in their conclusions, were sadly astray in their assumptions of fact. At the present day what is accepted as the history of Rome, especially in its earliest ages, would scarcely be recognized by either of those thinkers as concerned with any

state of which they had ever heard. Romulus and Numa and Servius Tullius and a whole series of personages whose careers furnished delectable lessons have receded into the realm of myth; the curies, centuries, dictators, tribunes, and other stock properties of the drama of Rome have been so transformed as to contradict the deductions that were once drawn from them. The nineteenth-century conception of Roman history is far indeed from the conception that was influential during the centuries when Rome was a name to conjure with.

It may of course be denied that any ideas about Rome, whether true or false, ever had any actual influence on the course of history in later ages. We all have heard that the things which really and truly determine the sequence of human affairs are those of economic significance; that social and political systems take form, flourish, and decline according to the source and volume of the food or metal supply, the vagaries of commerce, and other such matters as are assumed to be independent of the will of men; and that appeals to the conscious human experience of the past are but the futile cries of deluded creatures who will not be reconciled to the idea of their own insignificance. If this is the truth of the matter, if the sufficient explanation of all social and political phenomena is to be found exclusively in the workings of the law of diminishing returns, the fluctuations in the value of gold, and other such impersonal causes, then is it vain indeed to compare the influence of true with that of false history, and this essay must stand as but one more futile cry of a deluded creature.

Let us turn, however, to another familiar illustration of the tendency that we are trying, with interest even if in error, to trace. The most hardened devotee of the economic interpretation of history would hesitate to deny that during the last thousand years, if for no longer, the history of the Jewish nation, as recorded in the Old Testament, has occupied a very large place among the cultural influences of Christendom. To the strongest minds of thirty generations it had the character of a divinely revealed record of the precise facts, given by God to men for the express purpose of infallibly guiding them in their earthly affairs. It was comprehensive in scope, narrating the origin of the human race and pointing by remorseless prophecy to its end. It was detailed in treatment, showing in minute revealings the course of social, legal, and political development among God's chosen people. There was no question of public policy or of private conduct that could not be and was not answered by appeal to this history. Through a thousand years of West-European development emperors, popes, kings, bishops, and

all minor authorities sustained themselves on the precedents of the Children of Israel. The succession of phenomena during that thousand years may have been determined in fact by fluctuations in the value of gold or by the law of diminishing returns; but Hildebrand and Innocent III. and Boniface VIII. and Charles V. and Martin Luther all thought, and all said, that the mainspring of the part that they took in trying, at least, to influence affairs, was the will and purpose of God as revealed in the Bible.

In the history of the Israelites the precedents were found for every species of social and political activity that was manifested in Christendom. Kings discovered there divine sanction for absolute monarchy; republicans, for popular sovereignty; moderate men, for the mixed form. If a tyrant was to be got rid of the way was pointed out by the achievements of Ehud and of Jehu and of Samuel, when he hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord. If a people was to be destroyed, the fate of the Amalekites and the recalcitrant tribes of Canaan furnished a divinely sanctioned model of efficiency. The Albigenses at Toulouse, the papists at Drogheda, and the Pequots in Connecticut were slaughtered with pious joy, based on the same historical evidence that the will of God was being executed. How thoroughly the social, economic, and political development of our own country in its early life was permeated with ideas derived from the Old-Testament history, it is unnecessary here to set forth. Suffice it to note that one authority at least has gravely ascribed our whole political system to the influence of the ancient Israelitish polity as described in the Scriptures.

What, now, is the present status of this body of historical narrative that was for so many ages a powerful factor in the conscious activities of Christendom? How has the critical spirit of the nineteenth century dealt with the ancient records and traditions of the Jews? The answer is so familiar as scarcely to need mention. Adam has gone into the same category of historical significance with Romulus. The trials and triumphs of the Israelites have taken their place as an epic version of an actual experience that was paralleled by many a nomad tribe of the Orient. Their heroes, lawgivers, and deliverers have been reduced, like those of the Romans, to the level of ordinary humanity. Their social and political institutions are known to have been, not an exceptional type set for the guidance of the nations, but in substance not different from what every primitive people in similar circumstances has evolved. The compilers of their records and the writers of their annals are proved to have worked under no more unerring inspiration than that which guided the historians of most other nations.

Will the history of the Israelites as thus transformed ever again influence the motives of men as it did in, say, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while it still retained its ancient character? Will the Biblical Moses continue to inspire national patriots when it is known that our record of his career took shape a thousand years after his death in a literature of moral and religious propaganda, and is about as trustworthy as would be a life of Alfred the Great written to-day to promote Anglo-Saxon unity? Will constitution-makers ever again seek so anxiously for light from the system of the old Jewish government as they did before that system was known to have been described more in the light of hope for the future than of knowledge of the actual workings in a far-distant past? But one answer to these questions is possible. Of Jewish history as of Roman history it must be said: The deeds of men have been affected more by the beliefs in what was false than by the knowledge of what was true.

Here again, however, we must pause and qualify. We shall be told that we are hopelessly out of date to suppose that the deeds of medieval men were affected in any significant degree by belief in Jewish history whether true or false. The interpreter economic will assure us that the conflict between Papacy and Empire was but a struggle for land between two grasping monopolies. The interpreter meteorological will show us, from measurements of Sequoia stumps in California,<sup>2</sup> that a decline of the rainfall in central Asia determined the Crusades without any reference to the historical beliefs of Peter the Hermit or of St. Bernard. And a host of miscellaneous interpreters will be sure that the Lutheran revolt was produced by a medley of racial, financial, and artistic incompatibilities amid which the convictions of the leaders in respect to Biblical history became a wholly negligible factor. If all these interpreters are right, the comparisons that have been suggested between the true and the erroneous ideas of Jewish history must be dropped as futile.

What I have sought to illustrate by the broad aspects of Roman and Jewish history may be as readily studied in familiar episodes in other fields. Take, for example, the origin of that mighty sanctuary of liberty and justice, trial by jury. Through six centuries of English history it was devoutly believed that this institution had either its source or its effective guarantee or both in Magna Carta. There in the famous article XXXIX. stood the familiar words: "No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed, or outlawed, or

<sup>2</sup> Huntington, "Changes of Climate and History", *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVIII. 213-232 (1913).



banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land."

Floods of ink and myriads of goose-quills were consumed by Fortescue and Coke and Hale and Blackstone and all the lesser lights of English constitutional history in the effort adequately to eulogize the foresight and wisdom of the barons of Runnymede in providing for later generations this singularly beneficent safeguard of human rights. It is hard to understand at times, when reading the declamation of the anti-prerogative men and Whigs, that Magna Carta was framed with any other conscious purpose than to furnish a firm basis for trial by jury. This was in large measure the idea that was transmitted to America, so that we find in Tucker and Story and the rest of the juristic Fathers Magna Carta and the jury system inseparably united as the foundation of our free institutions.

That the association of trial by jury with Magna Carta contributed much through the centuries to the realization and maintenance of constitutional government, is beyond all doubt. Nineteenth-century criticism has proved, however, that the association was, as an historical fact, utterly without foundation. The "judgment of his peers" referred to in the thirty-ninth article was a wholly different thing from the verdict of a jury; and no such institution as trial by jury of a person charged with crime was known to the law of the land when Magna Carta was formulated. The great charter of English liberties neither created nor sanctioned nor guaranteed trial by jury. Such is the actual fact of the matter. How great and important has been the part played in English history by the contrary idea, every one even moderately familiar with that history may easily estimate. It is another case where an effective (and apparently a beneficent) influence on the sequence of human affairs has been exercised, not by what really happened, but by what men erroneously believed to have happened.

Thus far I have sought to illustrate my theme by such misconceptions of fact as have been ancient and inveterate, and untraceable to any definite source in human volition. It would be hardly worth our while to detail the thronging examples where history has been deliberately falsified from motives of political or personal advantage. Conscious and willful misrepresentation of the actual facts has always been a feature of politics and diplomacy and has furnished historians with many of their most interesting problems. It is but a little over forty years now since a spectacular instance of such misrepresentation convulsed Europe. In 1870 the present German Empire came into being, and the impulse to its birth was given by

a lie. We know this on the fully documented testimony of the liar. Bismarck, in deep despair at the apparent failure of a diplomatic enterprise intended to force a war with France, received a despatch from the Prussian king containing an account of the last interview of the king with the French ambassador. The meeting had been entirely amicable. Bismarck immediately made public a version of the king's despatch so distorted as to produce in Germany the impression that the ambassador had insulted the king, and in France the impression that the king had insulted the ambassador. The result was an outburst of passion in both countries that at once precipitated the momentous war, with the fall of the French and the establishment of the German Empire.

American history teems with instances hardly less flagrant and malicious, though in none, so far as I know, has there been anything so cynically frank as Bismarck's avowal of his part in the fraud. We might refer, for example, to the perversion of the record in the Dred Scott case so as to represent the Chief Justice as declaring that negroes had no rights that a white man was bound to respect—a view of the opinion that appears in more or less pretentious publications even down to the present day. But without multiplying examples, let us consider now some conclusions that may be drawn from the whole matter.

That the critical spirit in the study of history during the nineteenth century has produced some astonishing results, is beyond all controversy. Its reconstructions of human life in the past have been no less significant than the amazing changes wrought by the physical sciences in our ideas of the material universe. No wonder that the mantle of skepticism has enveloped the whole historical gild, so that only the hardiest of the fraternity dares venture a commonplace without the original source as a foot-note to sustain him. No wonder that the restless quest for new facts has overshadowed every other activity of the historical student. And no wonder that, in the search for new facts of the objective sort, familiar old facts of the other sort are neglected and crowded out of their due consideration. We are overwhelmed with the glory of our achievements in discovery and intoxicated with our superiority over the luckless generations that preceded us. A newly detected brick pile in Mesopotamia or a freshly opened tomb along the Nile reveals to us unsuspected information about Tiglath Pileser and the sixteenth dynasty; at once we feel a sense of pity for the Periclean Greeks, that, with all their culture, they lacked these facts. Excavations in Argos and Crete give us knowledge of Homer's heroes that the most learned men of Augustan Rome never dreamed of; we pity the Romans so much the more than we pitied the Greeks, and we feel

renewed confidence in the ancient judgment that the civilization of Rome was after all but a thin veneer. The higher criticism shows us that David, king of the Jews, lacked somewhat of both the might and the tunefulness ascribed to him by the Old Testament; away goes all our respect for the Middle Age, to whose thinkers David was an inspired model in all the larger and finer things of life. Our contempt for the centuries is cumulative and reaches its climax in the eighteenth, when Gibbon, the paragon, historiographically, of his time, described with affecting details the "fall" of the Roman Empire in the West, though every school-boy of our blessed age has learned from one of our brilliant associates that it never "fell" at all.<sup>3</sup>

No long reflection is needed to detect the dangers that flow from exaggerating the importance of new truth in history. If we impute it for unrighteousness to an age or a people that they lacked the knowledge of the past that has become our possession, the age or people in question is affected with a taint that operates to obscure its own history. We enlightened observers scorn to busy ourselves with the doings of those who supposed that Moses and Romulus and Numa were actually what they were long represented to be, and who believed that trial by jury was guaranteed by Magna Carta. We subconsciously feel that so ignorant a people could have had little in its own affairs to warrant the attention of respectable scholarship. Logically this is of course a shocking *non-sequitur*, but its existence and its influence at the present day are unmistakable, and it probably has some share in the rather enthusiastic movement of the younger generation of historical students, especially here in America, away from the field of medieval history. I have in mind three men under forty, each of whom made his doctorate by a noteworthy study of the Middle Age. To-day all three are professors, and in their serious work one of them goes, with much reluctance, as far back as the peace of Westphalia; another centres his effort in the first half of the nineteenth century; and the third declares roundly that he has no real interest in anything that happened prior to 1870.

The corrective for whatever evils may be involved in the tendencies referred to lies ready to our hand. We must recognize frankly that whatever a given age or people believes to be true is true for that age and that people. The actual facts as to Adam

<sup>3</sup> Robinson, *The New History*, p. 191 *et seq.* Gibbon finds evidence of the fall of the Western Empire in the transfer of certain "ornamenta palatii" by Odovacar from Rome to Constantinople, understanding the term to mean the imperial insignia. Robinson shows that the term might just as reasonably have designated any furniture of the palace, and therefore that what Gibbon took for a "fall" may have been merely an obscure transaction in bric-a-brac.

and Moses and trial by jury and Romulus had no causal relation to the affairs of Europe in the sixteenth century. Erroneous ideas on those topics had very close causal relations to those affairs. For the history of the sixteenth century, therefore, it is the error and not the fact that is important. The business of the historian who studies that century is to ascertain the scope and content of the ideas that constituted the culture of that period. Whether these ideas were true or were false, according to the standards of any other period, has nothing to do with the matter. That they were the ideas which underlay the activities of the men of this time, is all that concerns the work of the historian.

These axioms of the study of history are familiar and undisputed. Living up to them, however, is another matter. Especially in view of the cyclonic sweep of criticism and discovery during the nineteenth century, it has become desperately difficult to maintain an attitude of decent respect for the historical beliefs of less favored ages. Our pride in the attainments of our own day distorts all our judgments of the past. In vain the master-mind of a distant generation rears with matchless ingenuity a system of institutions based on the teachings of Moses or of Numa. We follow out languidly the story of his system, no matter how precisely it fitted the demands of the time. At only one point will our interest revive, where the master-mind, by some chance, hit upon a notion that has acceptance and vogue in our own day. Here we centre our attention and appreciation, and in our history of the affair make the central feature, not the ingenious adaptation of the system to contemporaneous needs and environment, but the accidental fact that there was in the situation something that anticipated the thought or achievement of the wonderful twentieth century.

The crying need in the study of history to-day is humility. The realities of the past will never be scientifically apprehended so long as the student of history stands contemplating in a stupor of admiration the reversals of ancient beliefs effected in our own age. Contempt for those who lacked our light is the worst of equipments for understanding their deeds. With all their misconceptions about Adam and Romulus and trial by jury, the people of earlier centuries often thought and acted very much as do we, their regenerate posterity. Keen historical vision will detect in them at times qualities closely akin to what used to be called human nature.<sup>4</sup> That they acted in many cases under the impulse of ignorance and error, should make their history more rather than less interesting. At least they lived—they acted—they "did things".

<sup>4</sup> This interesting entity has of course been banished from our ken by the very latest and most completely Bergsonized conception of history, and I refer to it with the due apology.



Lowes Dickinson, with his usual acuteness, penetrated to the heart of the matter when he wrote:

To take the philosophy or the religion of the past and put it into your laboratory and test it for truth, and throw it away if it doesn't answer the test, is to misconceive the whole value and meaning of it. The real question is, what extraordinary, fascinating, tragic or comic life went to produce this precious specimen? What new revelation does it give of the possibilities of the world? That's how you look at it, if you have the sense of life.<sup>5</sup>

The study of history is justified by some as furnishing examples for present instruction, by others as merely enlightening us about present conditions by tracing them in their becoming. On either basis the student is under obligation to repress in all humility his scorn for the error that he finds in the beliefs of those with whom he is dealing. For his business is to present past occurrences in their causal sequence. Not this, that, or the other event by itself, but this as the cause of that, and the other as the effect of that. But unless he is ready to adopt in the extreme form the economic and sundryological interpretations and discard the human influence entirely, he must find in the beliefs of men a most powerful factor in the chain of causation. Nor does it matter at all whether a belief is true or false. Montesquieu remarks in his *Esprit des Lois*: "In a free nation it is very often a matter of indifference whether individuals reason right or reason wrong; it is enough that they reason: for from that springs liberty." Much the same is the case in respect to the beliefs of a people about history, whether of their own past or of the past of others: the beliefs are important whether true or false; for out of them is formed the subject-matter of history.

Thus we come again to the sum of the whole matter. It is impossible to exaggerate the significance in many respects of the transformations effected in historical knowledge during the nineteenth century. Least possible of all is it to overestimate the change in the general attitude toward history that has resulted from these transformations. Yet in one respect there is need of the utmost caution in handling the new situation. It behooves the historian to be modest in his rejoicings over the discoveries that have reversed so many long-cherished beliefs. He must keep in mind that the reversal cannot be made retroactive, so as to affect the thoughts and deeds of the generations who knew not the reality. He must remember, in short, that for very, very much history there is more importance in the ancient error than in the new-found truth.

WILLIAM A. DUNNING.

<sup>5</sup> *A Modern Symposium*, pp. 121-122.

## THE EARLY HISTORY OF CASTE<sup>1</sup>

THE subject of caste is one of the deepest interest because it deals with a social organization which, being exclusively and essentially Indian, has been the chief characteristic of the civilization of India for more than 2500 years, and has marked off Indian civilization from that of the rest of the world as unique. A striking political result of this system has been that, whereas in other countries lesser groups have tended to amalgamate and finally form nations, such groups in India have tended not to national union, but to ever-increasing disintegration, ending at the present day in an immense number of mutually exclusive sections of the population, which when once split off have never been known to join again. There are now well over 2000 main groups of this character, to say nothing of lesser subdivisions.

It is obvious that without a knowledge of the caste system Indian civilization must be unintelligible. It is also certain that without an historical study of the caste system of modern India that institution itself cannot be fully understood. We are fortunately not restricted to a conjectural reconstruction of the early stages from the phenomena as they exist to-day, though this is a method largely followed by various writers on the subject. We are, on the contrary, able to trace the historical development of the system back to its source from the evidence furnished by the ancient literature of India, beginning certainly not later than 1300 B. C. This literary evidence may be divided, sufficiently for our present purposes, into three periods. Firstly, we have the period from c. 500 B. C. to 500 A. D., comprising the later Vedic ritual literature, the ancient law-books, the two great epics, all in Sanskrit, valuably supplemented by the Pāli literature of Buddhism. In this period the caste system was essentially the same as it is now, though less rigid and less complex.

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the International Congress of Historical Studies, London, April, 1913. Authorities: Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. I. (second ed.); Weber, *Indische Studien*, vol. X.; Senart, *Les Castes dans l'Inde*; Oldenberg, "Zur Geschichte des Indischen Kastenwesens", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LI, 267-290 (1897); Jolly, "Beiträge zur Indischen Rechtsgeschichte", *ibid.*, L, 507 ff.; Fick, *Soziale Gliederung im Nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit* (1897); Rhys Davids, *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, II, 96-136; *Indian Census Reports*, Punjab, 1881 (Ibbetson), India, 1901 (Risley), Bengal, 1901 (Gait); Risley, *The People of India* (1908); Baines, "Ethnography", *Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research* (1912); Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* (2 vols., 1912).

Secondly, there is the pre-Buddhistic period from c. 1000 to 500 B. C., embracing the literature of the later Vedas and the ritual and theological literature of the Brāhmaṇas. In this period the caste system had already come into being. Thirdly, we have the earliest period, that of the Rigveda, c. 1300-1000 B. C., when the caste system was as yet unknown, though the elements out of which it developed were evidently in existence. The object of this paper is, as far as this is possible within such limits, to trace the history of caste in its main features through these three periods back to its origin, to criticize the conflicting views that have been held as to its character in its early stages, and if not to arrive at actual certainty regarding its origin, at least to reduce the possibilities of explanation within narrow limits.

A caste of the present day, if we consider it in its typical form, disregarding minor exceptional details, may be defined as a homogeneous social corporation bearing a common name and distinguished by the following four characteristics: (1) it is hereditary, that is, its members belong to it by right of birth, a man being born, not made, a member of a caste; (2) it is endogamous, that is, its members marry within its own circle only; (3) its members profess to follow the same occupation; and (4) its members do not eat with members of other castes and in varying degrees even avoid contact with them. The caste is controlled by a council or standing committee, whose rules are enforced by penalties and excommunication. To the definition thus broadly stated it is necessary to add some qualifying remarks regarding the four characteristic features mentioned.

1. In consequence of its hereditary character the members of a caste claim a common descent. Such a claim is generally not justified historically, being often based on a fiction.

2. Though the members of a caste can only marry *within* the caste, they must at the same time marry outside a narrow circle of kinship called the *gotra*. Again, when a caste consists of subdivisions only, these subdivisions are endogamous and cannot intermarry. Thus a Brahmin can marry a Brahmin woman only; but he may not marry *any* Brahmin woman; she must belong to the same endogamous subdivision of the Brahmin caste as he does, but she must not belong to the same *gotra* within that subdivision.

3. Though members of the same caste profess to follow the same profession, which is generally indicated by its name, there are many exceptions, the percentage of those following the traditional occupation being sometimes quite small. Thus the Brahmins are traditionally priests, but in Bengal only seventeen per cent., and in Behār only eight per cent., of them perform religious ceremonies. Of the

Chamārs or leather-workers of Behār only eight per cent. follow their traditional calling, the rest being agriculturists or general laborers.

4. The barriers to the social intercourse of daily life between members of different castes often extend beyond the prohibition of eating together. Each caste is characterized by an infinite number of special practices regulating the conduct of its members, such as abstention from particular kinds of food and from spirituous liquor, the infant marriage of girls, and the prohibition of the remarriage of widows. Laxness in such matters in addition to the pursuit of despised and degrading occupations has resulted in a complicated gradation of rank based on varying degrees of ceremonial impurity. This is illustrated by the complicated manner in which the lower castes are treated by the higher. Thus there are a number of castes from whom Brahmins and members of the higher castes will accept water and certain kinds of sweetmeats; there is a lower group from whom water is taken only by *some* of the higher castes; a still lower group consists of those from whom water is not taken at all: the village barber is willing to shave them, but he will not cut their toenails. There are some low castes whose touch defiles the higher castes, though they refrain from eating beef; the village barber will not shave them, though the village washerman will generally wash their clothes. Still more defiling is the touch of those who eat beef (the leather-workers and the scavengers): for these neither barber nor washerman will work. In Western and Southern India Brahmins will as a rule take water only from their own caste or one of its subdivisions. In Southern India ceremonial pollution is very elaborate, being graded in intensity by measurement of distance. Thus a Nāyar pollutes a higher caste by touch; masons and blacksmiths at a distance of twenty-four feet; toddy drawers at thirty-six feet; the Pariah who eats beef at sixty-four feet. A curious case of rise in the social scale of caste is that of the Dravidian palanquin bearers who have been promoted to the rank of a water-giving caste in order that thirsty high-caste travellers might obtain a drink without leaving their palanquins.

An historically important feature of the caste system observable at the present day is the frequent formation of new castes. This is chiefly due to the adoption, by members of a caste, of new occupations, which give rise to subdivisions that ultimately become distinct castes. Thus the Sadgōps of Bengal, having in recent times separated themselves from a pastoral caste, are now an independent agricultural caste. A remarkable instance of this process is that of the educated portion of the fishermen castes of Bengal (Kaibarttas



and Pods): they are separating themselves from the rest who have not learned English.

Occupation alone, however, does not account for the formation of new castes. A considerable number of castes are known to have had a tribal origin. These represent aboriginal tribes that have come into the fold of Hinduism and very commonly retain their tribal name. Such are the Ahirs, or agriculturists, and the Doms, or scavengers, of the United Provinces and Behār; the Gūjars, or herdsmen, of Rājputana; the Mahārs, or village menials, of Bombay; the Chandāls, or sweepers, of Bengal; the Nāyars of Malabar; and the Paraiyans or Pariahs, laborers and menials, of Madras. Such tribal castes, many of which have come into existence in quite recent times, often fictitiously claim an origin of remote antiquity. Thus the leading men of an aboriginal tribe set up as Rājputs, starting a Brahmin priest who invents for them a mythical ancestor and supplies other fictitious claims to noble descent. By this and similar methods aboriginal tribes have from early times been brought and are still being brought into the social system of Hinduism.

There are further a few examples of the formation of castes by crossing. A notable case in point is that of the Khas of Nepal, a caste possibly formed long before the beginning of the Christian era, as the result of mixed marriages between Rājput or Brahmin immigrants and the Mongolian women of the country. In Orissa there is a servant caste consisting of 47,000 members (according to the census of 1901) and produced by the union of higher castes with maid-servants of the lower clean castes. This caste is stated to have existed only since the middle of the nineteenth century.

There is also a small number of castes which began as religious sects. Based on the social equality of their members, they have in course of time reverted to the normal type of caste. A notable example is the Lingāyat Śivaite caste of Bombay and South India, comprising more than two and one-half millions of adherents. It arose in the twelfth century on the basis of the equality of all those who accepted the doctrines of the founder. By about A. D. 1700 it had begun to develop endogamous sub-castes divided by the very social distinctions which had been rejected by its founder. At the census of 1901 the members of these sub-castes protested against being put down as members of the same caste, claiming to be entered as Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas of the main caste. Such is the aversion of the Hindu system to the theory of equality and so great is its predilection for an aristocratic gradation of society.

Two minor causes productive of new castes have been change of habitat and change of custom. The migration of a section of a caste

to a distant region has in several instances, chiefly because of the difficulty of keeping up the connubial connection, led to the formation of endogamous sub-castes, commonly distinguished by territorial names. Such are the Nambūtri Brahmins of Malabar and the Tirhutia Brahmins of Northern Bengal.

Change of custom accounts for the fact that the Rājputs and the Jāts, though of common Indo-Āryan origin, now form two separate castes; for the Rājputs strictly prohibit the remarriage of widows, while the Jāts have given up this restriction.

Thus the Hindu society of to-day consists of a vast congeries of mutually exclusive units with an inherent tendency to further separatism, the only unifying feature of which is the steadying conservative power of the Brahmin supremacy that dominates the whole system.

What is the relation of the social system I have just described to that which the ancient literature of India presents? Turning to the old law-books, of which the code of Manu (about A. D. 200) is the most representative for our purposes, we are confronted with a society that is already strictly organized on a basis of castes. Each caste follows the occupation appropriate to it. The members of each caste must marry within its limits, but outside the *gotra*. Commensality and various other kinds of contact with people of lower caste are strictly forbidden. Detailed rules are given regarding permitted and prohibited kinds of food. The drinking of spirituous liquor is forbidden. Child-marriage is prescribed; the remarriage of widows is prohibited. Every serious transgression of the caste rules is punished by expulsion. There is, however, less rigidity, in these law-books, in the application of the rules of caste than is the case at the present day. Thus Manu prescribes the first marriage to be with women of the same caste, but does not otherwise altogether condemn hypergamy.<sup>2</sup> Again, the law-book of Gautama,<sup>3</sup> which is older by several centuries, speaks of the possibility, in cases of hypergamy, of rising to a higher or sinking to a lower caste under certain conditions. Manu also admits that there is a certain elasticity in the applicability of the caste rules which he prescribes. But it is evident that the caste system of the law-books is essentially the same as that of to-day. There is, however, one great and striking difference, the emphatic assertion that society is based on four main original castes (*varṇas*), the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras.<sup>4</sup> It is also expressly stated that there are four castes and no

<sup>2</sup> Manu, X. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Gautama, IV. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Manu, X. 4.

fifth. The first three are in various ways contrasted with the fourth. They are called the twice-born castes, as alone being admitted to sacred initiation, to Vedic study, and to the right of kindling the sacred fire, while the Śūdra is excluded from these privileges, and is bound to serve the other three. Marriage of the twice-born with Śūdra women is strongly condemned, those who enter into such alliances becoming outcasts and a Brahmin who so far forgets himself sinking to hell after death.<sup>5</sup>

Beside these four main castes there is a large number of other castes. They are all explained by the law-books as mixed castes, produced solely by intermarriage between the four castes and then by further intermixture. Thus, if a man of either of the first two castes married a woman of a caste more than one degree lower, the children belonged to neither caste, but formed a new one. For instance, the union of members of the Brahmin caste with women of the third or Vaiśya caste produced the mixed caste of the Ambasthas, or physicians; that of Brahmins with Śūdra women produced Niśādas, or fishermen. Such unions are recognized as taking place in the right order (*anuloma*). Unions, on the other hand, in which the woman is of higher rank, are condemned as against the grain (*pratiloma*). Thus the offspring of a Śūdra man with a Brahmin woman are Chaṇḍālas, who are spoken of as the "lowest of mortals" and are condemned to live outside the village, to execute criminals, to carry out the corpses of friendless men, and so forth. Alliances between two such crosses are described as producing new castes such as the Sairandhas, or "snarers of animals". Another series is produced by the Vṛātyas, members of the three upper castes who have become outcasts by neglecting their sacred duties and whose descendants by intermixture in the first degree were Mallas, Lichavis, Dravidas, and others; from hypothetical alliances between these again arose secondary mixed castes. There is no doubt a grain of historical truth in Manu's theory of mixed castes, inasmuch as some castes of his time derived their origin from the crossing of other castes, just as others have done in modern times. Several of these mixed castes of Manu, however, evidently represent original tribes, as is shown in several cases by the very names, as the Māgadhas, Vaidehas, and Dravidas; or others mentioned in the later Vedic literature, as the Niśādas and Kirātas; or by the evidence of Buddhist Pāli works, as the Mallas, Lichavis, and Chaṇḍālas. These tribes were probably brought into the caste system by processes similar to those which we have already seen to be going on at the present day. Other so-called mixed castes, such as the Sūtas, or charioteers, are occupational in

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 16, 17.

origin, as we know from the early Vedic and epic literature. This theory of mixed castes, which contains many grotesque and absurd details, is thus evidently an attempt to explain as due to a single cause what is the result of several.

Now, though Manu's theory of the origin of the "mixed" castes is clearly erroneous, his theory of the four main original castes is not necessarily also erroneous. It is true that, if regarded without reference to earlier conditions, the theory of the four castes appears inadequate to explain the already complex social system existing in the period of the law-books. It has accordingly been by some regarded as an invention of the Brahmins. Thus Risley speaks of the "myth of the four castes" and has conjectured that the comparatively late law-books became acquainted with and borrowed the idea of four castes from the Iranian division of society, with its assertion of priestly supremacy, into four classes. Again, M. Senart regards the theory as a fiction, which superimposed the ancient classes of Āryan society on the caste system with which those classes had originally nothing to do. This view also can be shown to be erroneous, because it ignores the evidence supplied by Pāli literature, which is independent of that of the Brahmins. Is it in itself likely that the Brahmins, averse though they were to inductive methods, should have invented a theory which at the time broke down at every point in view of the facts of actual life? Is it not much more likely that it was based on a tradition which reflected simpler conditions once actually existing, and which was now stretched to explain the much more complex system of a later period? That this was the case can I think be shown from the evidence supplied by the Vedic literature which is anterior to the law-books, and by the independent Pāli literature of the Buddhists.

What do we learn about the castes in the later Vedic literature? We already find here a developed caste system of which the characteristics are heredity, common occupation, and restriction on inter-marriage. But although there are clear distinctions made between the castes, there is as yet little trace of impurity communicated by the touch of or contact with members of inferior castes; nor is there as yet any evidence showing that to take food from an inferior caste was forbidden as destroying purity. Although there were already many other castes, the four constantly appear as fundamental and dominating the social organization. They are expressly spoken of as four in number in the Brāhmaṇas. Their individual names are mentioned in the later Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas as Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya or Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra. There are occasional variants of the names, but these are always meant and their order is the same. The

Śūdra caste is sometimes represented by one of its subdivisions, as the Chāṇḍāla. Often only the three upper castes are mentioned by name, again always in the same order. In the later Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas, the Vaiśyas or peasantry appear as the basis of the state, on which the priesthood and the military caste rest; these two are superior to the Vaiśya, while all three are superior to the Śūdras. The Śūdra is declared to be incapable of sacrificing; he is not admitted to drink soma; he is unfit to be addressed by a consecrated person, and is not allowed to milk a cow the milk of which is to be used in the milk oblation; and at a certain rite he is not allowed to come in contact with the performers. He is spoken of as the servant of another, who can be expelled at will or slain at pleasure; he has no rights of property or life against the noble; even if prosperous he can only be a servant, his business being "washing the feet". The contrast between the three upper castes is also expressed in the later Vedas and two Brāhmaṇas by the "Āryan color" (*varṇa*) as opposed to the Śūdra, and in two Brāhmaṇas the "Śūdra color" (*śaudra varṇa*) is mentioned. It is significant that the word *varṇa*, which is used in this literature as the distinctive term for caste, in this context still appears in its primary sense of "color".

The Brāhmaṇa literature is full of minute distinctions respecting the castes. For instance, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa describes the different sizes of the funeral mounds for the four castes, and the different modes of addressing each of them. It is inconceivable that all this should be pure theory at so early a period. Any one who examines the abundant evidence of the Brāhmaṇas without prejudice cannot avoid being convinced that, without any kind of fiction, we are here presented with an authentic account in broad outline of the actual social conditions of the time: *viz.* that the Āryan population, still inspired with a lively sense of opposition to the non-Āryan, consisted of a double aristocracy exercising respectively a spiritual and a temporal dominion, the third position being occupied by the Āryan freemen whose normal occupations were pastoral pursuits and agriculture. To this threefold Āryan community were added the non-Āryan plebeians and slaves; while outside these four groups were to be found the aboriginal tribes unaffected by Āryan civilization. Some scholars, in particular M. Senart, have denied that these four great categories were ever castes, but regard them only as classes of the population. Let us take the Brahmins first. Even at this day they are acknowledged in India as one caste, though it is the largest, numbering 15,000,000, and more widely distributed over the whole country than any other. It is still endogamous in the general sense that a Brahmin will marry a Brahmin woman only;

but it consists entirely of subdivisions which are specially endogamous. But the ancient literature supplies quite sufficient evidence to show that such subdivisions did not exist in the old period. It is clear that the Brahmins were endogamous generally, but married outside their *gotras*, representing the great families such as the Atris, Vasiṣṭhas, and others that dominated the life of Brahmins even in the oldest Veda. When the Brahmin, under the pressure of economic circumstances, took to occupations other than his traditional one, he still remained a Brahmin; the fractions that followed other callings neither were, nor were called, castes. The growing differentiation of occupations did not, either here or in the other two great castes, obliterate in such occupational fractions the consciousness that the great groups formed natural divisions to which they belonged. Below the four great groups we find the minor division of families or clans (*gotras*), but these are not castes in the modern Indian sense.

But how do matters stand with the other three categories? The Rājputs of the present day, comprising more than 10,000,000 members, and unmistakably the descendants of the ancient military caste of the Kṣatriyas, are still characteristically one caste inasmuch as they are endogamous as a whole and exogamous as regards its clans. This affords a strong presumption that the second great social category was a caste in ancient times also. In considering this question we can call in the aid of Pāli literature, which contains abundant material illustrating the social conditions of northern India in the centuries following the death of Buddha. It is particularly valuable as furnishing evidence independent of the literature of the Brahmins, but it has not in this connection been taken into consideration by M. Senart. Here we find the term *jāti*, literally "birth", used to express "caste" like the Sanskrit *varṇa*. A man is described as a Brahmin or a Kṣatriya by *jāti*, or to be by *jāti* a Cāṇḍāla or Niṣāda, etc., as belonging to the despised part of the population. Five castes beginning with the Cāṇḍālas are stated to be low castes (*jāti*) as opposed to the Kṣatriyas and Brahmins as the high castes. When people are designated by their caste they are spoken of as Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Cāṇḍālas, etc. In one of the old dialogues of the Pāli canon, Buddha speaks of a man as being either Kṣatriya, a Brahmin, a Vaiśya, or a Sūdra. In another he upholds the purity of the four castes, rejecting the claim of the Brahmins to be the white caste, or *varṇa* (while they call each of the others a black caste), and the only pure caste. In another it is expressly stated that there are four *varṇas*, the Kṣatriyas, the Brahmins, the Vaiśyas, and the Sūdras. We hear of four kinds of assemblies, of Kṣatriyas, Brahmins, Gaha-



patis, and Samanas: the first three corresponding to the three upper castes, the fourth being only the specifically Buddhist order of ascetics. Further, we read of four kinds of families (*kula*), those of the Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras; or only of three, the Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas, and Gahapatis, that is, of the four castes or of the three upper castes respectively. When questions of purity or impurity arise, it is always Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas, and Chaṇḍālas that are concerned. Everywhere in these Pāli texts we see that the old main divisions have not by any means ceased to dominate real life and to represent its conditions adequately. There is as yet no sign of the division of the Brahmin caste into sub-castes, and hardly any reference to the existence of mixed castes. The castes are still few in number, by no means approaching the multiplicity of modern times; and the formation of new occupational castes appears only in an early stage. Even traders are not mentioned as a caste, but are only referred to by the term *kamma*, "occupation". Similarly, the majority of the artisan classes are not castes, but are only described as practising "crafts" (*sippa*). The minor groups within the castes are not small or local castes, but are *gotras*. Just as various *gotras* (such as the Gautamas, Bhāradvājas, etc.) are here regarded as belonging to the Brahmin caste, so members of various families or clans, such as the Śākya and Mallas, are represented as saying, "I, too, am a Kṣatriya". All this Pāli evidence in corroboration of the later Vedic evidence indicates that the four main categories still fairly well represented the framework of society and that the two highest at any rate were felt to be actual castes.

The reality of the third caste is not so clear in the Pāli texts, and Dr. Fick<sup>6</sup> thinks there is no exact sense in which it can be called a caste. We have seen that beside the two upper castes there appears a third category, the *gahapatis*, as distinct from them, but of a similar character. The frequency with which the term *gahapati*, which is equivalent to Vaiśya, is used indicates that it was felt to represent a reality. The Vaiśya was regarded as practising agricultural or pastoral pursuits and trade, but not handicrafts; thus when a distinction was made between a Vaiśya and a Śūdra family, a trader would still feel he was a Vaiśya. Again, we find the question asked about a man whether he is a Kṣatriya, a Brahmin, a Vaiśya, or a Śūdra. All this shows that it is not legitimate to regard the Vaiśya as a theoretical caste from the Pāli evidence, but rather that it is an old caste in process of dividing into many sub-castes under various influences.

<sup>6</sup> In his *Sociale Gliederung zu Buddha's Zeit*. It should be borne in mind that the material collected in this work is derived from the Jātaka book, a collection of over 500 stories, which does not represent the oldest period of Buddhism.

Dr. Fick also denies that the Śūdras ever formed one caste. The evidence of the Pāli texts at all events indicates that though the Śūdras included infinitely diverse elements, they were nevertheless regarded as a single category from the point of view of being a social stratum below the three upper castes, so that it might still be said of a man, "This is a Śūdra".<sup>7</sup> It may be added that the Pāli texts show that a number of gilds were in existence, each following its own calling, such as that of the gardeners. Though evidently not castes, they were approaching the condition of castes, being in fact the predecessors of a considerable proportion of the occupational castes of to-day. It is not difficult to understand how they developed into castes at a period when the thought of the Indian population had become imbued with the conception of caste as a natural distinction of birth combined with difference of occupation and restrictions of association with persons of lower birth with a view to avoiding pollution.

Turning finally to the Rigveda, the oldest literary monument of India, we find that the four castes are only mentioned once, in a hymn<sup>8</sup> which belongs to the latest chronological stratum of that Veda and which can be only very slightly older than the other Vedas. In that hymn the Brāhmaṇa, the Rājanya, the Vaiśya, and the Śūdra are described as having been created from the head, arms, thighs, and feet respectively of the primeval male. But in the whole of the rest of the Rigveda, the great bulk of which is undoubtedly much older than the hymn in question, we find neither mention of any such four-fold division nor any indication of the existence of the caste system. Now all who have studied Vedic literature closely, as I may claim to have done, can discern a continuity of civilization between its early and its later period, a steady development from the simple to the complex, from the primitive to the elaborate. We may therefore well expect to discover in the early Rigveda the elements from which the castes of the later Vedas were evolved. The general organization of society here presented is a primitive one, occupations being but little differentiated and every man being for the most part able to supply his simple wants himself. Certain men were, however, already beginning to devote themselves to occupations requiring special skill, such as those of the chariot-maker and the smith. In this comparatively primitive society may be clearly distinguished three divisions of the Āryan population, corresponding to the three

<sup>7</sup> It should be remembered in this connection that the eastern countries in which Buddhism arose had been imperfectly Brahminized, and that social distinctions are therefore likely to have been less definite there than in the more highly organized centre of Brahminism farther west.

<sup>8</sup> Rigveda, X. 90.

upper castes of the later Vedic period and called by names etymologically related to the designations of those three castes, *viś*, (1) the priests, usually called *brahman*, less commonly *brāhmaṇa*; (2) the ruling or military class, called *rājan*, the later *rājanya*; and (3) the *viś* or peasantry, equivalent to the Vaiśya. This threefold division the Āryans must have brought with them when they entered India, for it corresponds to the first three of the four classes into which the cognate Persians were divided, the priests, the warriors, and the cultivators. These three, collectively designated the *ārya varṇa* or "Āryan color", are opposed to the *dāsa varṇa*, or "aboriginal color". The aborigines, however, were not only known as enemies, but were already in part attached to the Āryan community as a servile class. For the word *dāsa* not only means "aboriginal foe", but is also clearly used in the sense of "slave" or "servant" in the Rigveda (much in the same way as Slav among the Germans). The term *dāsa varṇa* of the Rigveda is equivalent to the later Vedic *śūdra varṇa* or "Śūdra color". The word Śūdra does not occur in the Rigveda except in the one late hymn already referred to; its origin is not known, but it is not improbably the name of some one large aboriginal tribe that was enslaved by the Āryans, extended to designate the whole servile class. Here we have the word *varṇa* (later the regular term for caste) used in its primary sense of "color" to emphasize racial contrast (which in the Rigveda is also expressed by the description "black skin"). Thus we already have the basis of the caste system in its earliest form: the three Āryan classes corresponding to the three upper castes, and these three contrasted racially with the aboriginal black, servile class.

Now the question arises, how did these classes become castes? Several theories have been put forward to explain the transformation.

The Hindu theory in the law-books, of the origin of the castes by intermixture, we have already seen to be inadequate.

Then there is the tribal theory. Tribes have, as we have seen, been transformed into castes in modern times; but this has taken place only when the tribes have come into close contact with the regular caste system and have adopted its characteristic usages from religious and social motives. But if left to themselves tribes do not ever tend to caste; for primitive tribes are as a rule exogamous, not endogamous. In Europe the development of tribes has been in the opposite direction: they have ended in national consolidation, not political separatism.

Nesfield's theory is that the ultimate origin of caste is to be found in occupation pure and simple. Mere difference of occupation by

itself has never been known to originate a caste system. The gilds of the Middle Ages were never endogamous. In the fifth century A. D. all occupations were made hereditary by a law of the Theodosian Code, every man being obliged to marry within the circle of his occupation; but this system at once collapsed as soon as its legal enforcement came to an end. On the other hand, it is certain that, when a caste system had once been firmly established, occupation became a predominant element in the formation of castes as Indian society developed.

According to M. Émile Senart, the origin of caste is, firstly, to be found in the normal development of the ancient Āryan family system, in which both a rule of exogamy and one of endogamy was practised; and secondly, had nothing to do with the four classes. But the parallel he draws between the social organization of the Hindus and of the Greeks and Romans appears to go beyond the evidence and applies to a later Indian period, but not to the earliest Vedic stage. The artificial superimposition of the four classes on an already existing caste system, as assumed by him, breaks down in view of the historical connection which may be shown to exist between the four classes of the earliest Vedic period and the castes of the later Vedic period. Nevertheless it appears to me that the inherited Āryan organization was a necessary element in the genesis of caste.

The ultimate determining cause in the transformation of classes into the rigid castes of the Indian system appears to be based on the distinction of blood between the conquering and the conquered race. But this is not enough; for history shows that such contact between two more or less similar races has elsewhere resulted in connubial amalgamation. The additional and more deeply dividing difference of color was necessary to produce permanent prohibition of inter-marriage. But even this would have led no further than to the existence in India of two racial endogamous divisions of the population, like the whites and the negroes in the United States, and the Boers and Kaffirs in South Africa. But why should the Āryans themselves have separated into castes? It was because they were divided into classes that already contained the germs of caste. The Brahmins, even of the Rigveda, were a hereditary priesthood by occupation, laying much stress on purity of descent and not improbably already endogamous, as the fire-priests of the Persians are stated to have been. The exclusiveness of the noble military class, practising the hereditary occupation of arms, was analogous.

The word *varṇa* is significant in the history of the development of caste: without *varṇa* in one sense there would in all probability

nave been no *varṇa* in the other.<sup>9</sup> Contact with the black aborigines concentrated the attention of the conquering Āryans on purity of race by means of a characteristic that was lacking in the conquests of the other branches of the Āryans. This attention emphasized the occupational class distinctions already existing among themselves, and hardened these distinctions into the original barriers of caste; these once fixed led, as types for imitation, to the creation of an ever-increasing number of sub-castes largely on an occupational basis, but also by other processes still going on in India. Thus the two factors of race and occupation, operating in combination, the former by dividing the conquerors from the conquered, the latter by dividing the conquerors themselves, are required to explain the origin of caste.

In connection with this question I should like to add that the direct and unscrupulous action of the Brahmins in developing the caste system, as *e. g.*, by the invention of matrimonial taboos, has been greatly exaggerated. It is true that the Brahmins have never neglected their own interests; but it was by an unconscious gradual growth of an elaborate sacrificial ritual for the performance of which they became necessary, and which was acquiesced in by the rest of the population, that they reached a dominating position never attained by any other priesthood. It is thus not by deliberate imposition, but because they, the sole custodians of the sacred scriptures of the Hindus, have been imitated by the people as the highest model of racial and ceremonial purity, that they have influenced the development of the intricate maze of rules that permeate the caste system of to-day.

As indicated above, some writers, even without invoking the artificial intervention of the Brahmins to account for the creation of caste, hold that there never were four original castes in the sense of hereditary endogamous social groups, but that they were nothing more than classes of society. We have already shown that the early evidence certainly does not justify this view, at the very least as regards the Brahmins. How an ever-increasing number of subdivisions of the four classes should have developed into castes em-

<sup>9</sup> That the distinction of color remained an important element in the conception of caste is often apparent in the later literature. Thus in one of the old Pāli texts the differences of men by caste (*varṇa*) are described as parallel to the differences of color (*varṇa*) in the same species of animal; men are spoken of as priding themselves and despising others on the ground of this lighter color, the Brahmins in particular considering themselves the white *varṇa*, and the rest black. The natives of India of the present day still regard a fair complexion as a criterion of high caste. They even extend this conception to Europeans. Thus if the wife of a lieutenant-governor happens not to have a fair complexion they think she cannot be of high caste.

bracing the whole of Hindu society without the previous existence of at least one actual caste as a model of racial and ceremonial purity for the rest of the population to imitate, is, to the present writer at least, inconceivable. What cause, for instance, could account for the Brahmins, acknowledged even at the present day as one caste, never having been one endogamous group and yet having split up into a number of exclusively endogamous groups? On the other hand, such dominant types as the Brahmins and Kṣatriyas would naturally have been accepted by the rest of the population as patterns for imitation. Their very exclusiveness, especially towards the non-Āryan class, would have forced the intermediate third class into the position of an endogamous group. Thus it is in itself probable that all the four classes had become castes before the process began of division into sub-castes, which ultimately grew into independent castes. Such a primitive caste system based on occupation and gradation of rank—both inherent in the modern ideal of caste—would easily have served as a model in the formation of the subdivisions which the growing complexity of society called into being.

This short sketch has perhaps sufficed to show that by the use of all the evidence available it may be possible to attain to greater clearness and a nearer approximation to the truth in tracing the early history of caste in India.

A. A. MACDONELL.



THE EFFECTS OF NORMAN RULE IN IRELAND,  
1169-1333<sup>1</sup>

THERE has been a strong tendency among Irish writers to assume that nothing but evil resulted to Ireland from the Norman invasion of the twelfth century. An independent study of the primary sources of the period, however, has led me to think that the results which followed the coming of the Normans were on the whole distinctly beneficial to Ireland, and I propose to lay before my readers the more important of these results, as I conceive them. I confine myself to the direct and more immediate consequences of the Norman domination. To consider indirect and more remote consequences, while ignoring the proximate causes of these, would serve no useful purpose, while an adequate consideration of all contributory causes would practically involve the rewriting of the history of Ireland.

When estimating the consequences of Norman rule in Ireland it is necessary to have in our minds an adequate picture of the state of Celtic Ireland before the Normans came. I can here only briefly summarize some of the impressions left on my mind by a study of this pre-Norman period. Historical criticism and archaeological research have reduced to comparatively humble proportions the exaggerated notions of native writers as to the antiquity and the degree of civilization in early Ireland. Nevertheless, in the centuries following the introduction of Christianity to her shores, there was what may be called a Golden Age of art and learning in Ireland. Amid the welter of the break-up of the Western Empire, Ireland, undisturbed by the barbarian inroads, had opportunities of developing ideas which she had received mainly through the channel of the Church. That she did not neglect her opportunity is attested by the remains of her delicate handiwork on vellum, in metal, and in stone; by her primitive vernacular literature, in which, through the medium of Christianized writers, many of her legendary tales and oral traditions have been preserved; and by the contemporary notices of the learning and zeal of her missionary scholars abroad. It may be doubted however if this art and learning penetrated to any appreciable extent beyond the cloister and the immediate patronage of the Church, so as to make any permanent impress on the Irish race.

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the International Congress of Historical Studies, London, April, 1913.

At any rate in the ninth and tenth centuries Ireland, for the first time in the historic period, became the prey of barbarian invaders. Possibly the picture drawn by the monkish annalists of the devastation caused by the Scandinavian raids is exaggerated, while due credit has not been given to the Norse settlers for the great advance they made in forming seaport towns and in opening up a foreign trade, yet it seems clear that the march of civilization in Ireland was on the whole arrested, if not turned backward, by the fierce depredations of the Viking hordes. The century and a half which elapsed between the battle of Clontarf and the coming of the Normans was a period of increasing anarchy in Ireland. The Church, which had suffered most, had lost much of her early zeal, and though she numbered some saintly men among her prelates, she had become unfitted in the altered times for the due fulfilment of her mission. The theory that Ireland was politically a pentarchy, with one of the pentarchs as *ard-ri*, or overlord, uniting the whole, was probably never quite consonant with the facts. During this period, at any rate, the old rules of succession were broken through, the shadowy authority of an *ard-ri* was no longer acknowledged, and even the theory of a pentarchy was abandoned. This too was at a time when Western Europe was settling down into strong monarchical states organized on a feudal basis, and when in most countries the power of the crown to keep the disruptive tendencies of feudalism in check was on the increase. In particular, under the Normans, England had been consolidated into a strong centralized monarchy, and towards the close of the period a great king by his wise statesmanship and far-seeing judicial reforms had established an order and security unknown before, and had devised a machinery for carrying on the business of government which subsequent ages have done little more than extend and develop.

The relatively backward condition of Ireland during this period is manifest. The whole country was divided up into numerous shifting groups of tribes often at war with each other, but with no group powerful enough to hold the mastery over the rest. Their legal conceptions had never been recast in the Roman mould, but were primitive and unsuited to a progressive society. There was no machinery for making new laws, and the body of archaic customary law, expounded by the brehons, had no effective sanction. There was nothing but public opinion—the popular “boycott”—to compel the civil or criminal offender to submit to the arbitration of a brehon or to abide by his award. Agriculture could not thrive in the general insecurity, even had the Celtic land-system offered better inducement for steady work. Cattle-rearing, then even more exclusively

than now the main business of the country, was carried on under the ever-present peril that the stock of the business might be driven off by some hostile tribe-group. There was no Celtic coinage, and probably but little inter-tribal commerce. What foreign trade there was seems to have been confined almost entirely to the Scandinavian seaports.

Into this disordered and divided land, where there was little sense of patriotism, as we understand the word, where each man's country was the territory of the tribe or tribe-group to which he belonged, and each man's king, to whom alone he was permanently loyal, was the chieftain of his tribe, there burst in the latter part of the twelfth century a band of Norman adventurers with their retainers, bent on seeking sword-land for themselves.

Events move rapidly now. In 1169 Robert FitzStephen landed at Bannow and captured Wexford. Before the close of the next year Strongbow was master of Waterford and Dublin and of much of Leinster as well. The following year saw the King of England receiving the adhesion of the Irish Church and the homage of most of the Irish kings. Before his untimely death in 1176 Strongbow had occupied and parcelled out into manorial fiefs the greater part of Leinster. Hugh de Lacy did the same in Meath then or a little later. In 1177 Cork and the neighboring cantreds were occupied by Robert FitzStephen and Miles de Cogan, and John de Courcy had commenced to carve out for himself a principality in eastern Ulster. By the close of the century Limerick was permanently in Norman hands, and Ireland south and east of the Shannon and the Bann was dominated by Normans.

This great change was not brought about by numbers or big battalions, nor by the might of England. The actual invaders were never numerous. The army which Henry brought to Ireland to regularize the conquest never, so far as we know, unsheathed a sword. A study of the facts shows, I think, that the Norman success was in the first place brought about by the superior arms and armor—especially the hauberk and the bow—and the better discipline and tactics of the scanty Norman bands, but it was only rendered possible by the utter lack of cohesion among the Irish tribes—*dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur*—nay more, it was actively promoted by the assistance which many powerful chieftains gave to the invaders on various occasions against their own particular foes. The position thus won was maintained for a century and a half—nay was extended, though not with the same degree of thoroughness, to Connaught and almost all over Ireland—without much military assistance from England, and mainly by the energy and instinct for organized rule displayed by the resident feudal lords.

During all this time there was no combined effort made by the Irish to throw off the yoke, if indeed they found it galling—not even at the death of King John, when England would have been powerless to interfere. Once and once only, in the middle of the thirteenth century, a proposal was made by O'Neill to form a confederacy of the Gael against the English under himself as *ard-ri*. O'Connor of Connaught was induced by a concession to submit to O'Neill for the purpose. O'Brien of Thomond approved of the confederacy provided the position of *ard-ri* was assigned to himself, while O'Donnell, next neighbor to O'Neill, absolutely refused to give hostages to O'Neill, saying, "Every man should have his own world." In this retort the essential spirit of the clans found utterance—a spirit incompatible with political unity. The confederacy resulted in a petty raid by O'Neill and O'Connor to Down, where the combined forces were defeated and O'Neill slain by the local levies of the town and neighboring districts.

The first serious shock to the power of the Norman settlers in Ireland came indeed from one of kindred extraction with themselves. Flushed with the victory of Bannockburn, Edward Bruce, in 1315, led a force into Ireland, whence men and supplies in large quantities had been drawn by England for the war with Scotland. He and his brother Robert, king of Scotland, who joined him the next year, supported by some of the northern Irish, crushed all forces opposed to them, and, though they took none of the larger towns, they ravaged with fire and sword English and Gaelic homesteads indiscriminately throughout much of the settled districts, so that the ultimate defeat and death of Edward Bruce was hailed by the Irish with as much joy as by the English. "No better deed", exclaims the Irish annalist, "for the men of all Erin was performed since the beginning of the world—since the Fomorian race was expelled from Erin—than this deed, for theft and famine and destruction of men occurred throughout Erin during his time for the space of three years and a half."

But though this expedition was a failure it marks the turning-point of English influence in Ireland. It disclosed the military weakness of the settlers, and the impotence or indifference of England to hold firmly what she had won. The forces of disorder soon began to get the upper hand even in feudalized districts, and many an Irish chieftain and not a few feudal lords soon became practically independent. I have taken the year 1333 as the close of this period. In that year the last De Burgh, earl of Ulster, was murdered by his own people, and the strong power which maintained some sort of order throughout Connaught and Ulster was finally broken. For the

next two centuries the greater part of Ireland was practically independent of the English crown.

It is no part of the historian's duty, as I conceive it, to pass a moral judgment on the Norman invasion of Ireland. Abstract rights have little influence even now on international situations. We cannot indeed help regretting that the world missed its last chance of seeing how a Celtic community would work out its own salvation, and perhaps, in doing so, add something of value to the stock of human experience. But as this was not to be, we merely note the disappearance of independent Celtic Ireland as one more example of the law of the survival of communities, namely, that a weak and disordered country, divided against itself, is sure sooner or later to be taken in hand by some stronger and more progressive neighbor, and we may console ourselves with the philosophic reflection that on the whole it is well that this should be so. It makes for the progress of humanity.

But—and this is the point at issue—did the Norman occupation make for the progress of Ireland? I answer emphatically "yes", so far, at least, and so long as Norman rule was effective.

Firstly, the most important result of the Norman occupation was the establishment of what I have elsewhere ventured to call a "*Pax Normannica*".

Some disturbances no doubt took place within the region occupied, especially along the marches or borders between 'the land of peace' and 'the land of war', as the English and Irish districts were sometimes respectively called; but they were of small moment in comparison with the desolating raids that went on with little rest before the strong hand of the Normans stayed them. Above all there were no more inter-provincial wars in this region. Neither an O'Brien nor an O'Conor nor an O'Rourke came swooping down with his hosts over Leinster or Meath, carrying off whatever booty he could lay hands on. Nor was the lordship of Ulster subject any longer to periodical devastation at the hands of the Cinel Owen. Only in those districts where the Normans were not supreme did the turmoil of the past continue—a turmoil now caused partly, but not exclusively, by the efforts of the new-comers to extend their domination.<sup>2</sup>

Feudalism indeed, as introduced into Ireland, had a distinctly integrating effect. Wherever it prevailed it made the country *one*, in a sense unknown before. Some quarrels and consequent disturbances arose among the Anglo-Irish lords, but they were trivial as compared with the devastating conflicts of former Irish chiefs, or with the discords and risings of their English compeers. On the

<sup>2</sup> *Ireland under the Normans*, II. 324.

whole the barons of Ireland stood by each other, and were conspicuous for their loyalty to the crown.

Sir John Davies, indeed, among "the errors of the civil polity which hindered the perfection of the conquest", mentions the large fiefs which were granted to the first adventurers, and the liberties and royalties which they obtained therein. But in this and in some other respects King James's attorney-general has, I think, misread history. In the absence of the monarch, the presence of powerful barons was necessary to hold what had been won. Moreover it was precisely in the larger fiefs that order and progress best prevailed. Strongbow's great fief of Leinster, so long especially as it remained undivided in the hands of Earl William Marshal and his sons, made rapid strides; and so did the earldom of Ulster, so long as it was held by a resident lord; while the stability of Hugh de Lacy's subinfeudation of Meath is shown by the remarkable fact that in very many cases the descendants of the original feudatories held, even up to the middle of the seventeenth century, the very lands which had been granted to their ancestors in the twelfth century.

Secondly, this freedom from the peril of external raids brought with it for the first time the possibility of social advance, and in particular gave security to the cattle-rearer and to the tiller of the soil. Here I may remark that though such Irish chiefs as did not submit were no doubt deprived of their mensal lands and in many cases their rule was henceforth confined to a restricted portion of the former tribal territory, there is no indication of any general clearance of the mass of the Irish population. To the Norman settlers land without men to work it was valueless, and we have many proofs of their desire—nay of their exercise of pressure—to keep Irishmen from migrating from their lands. Hence we find that in the thirteenth century the larger manors usually included a class of Irishmen called *betaghs*, or small farmers, who owed to the lord certain customary agricultural services or money equivalents. There is indeed ample proof that the Norman occupation led to a great increase in the area of agriculture and to greatly improved methods of husbandry. This was largely due to the fashion of "landlord cultivation" then in vogue in England. Each manor had extensive demesne lands which were worked as a home farm, partly by the labor of the villeins in return for small holdings of their own, and partly by hired labor. There were thus only two economic classes concerned in the culture of these demesnes, and the produce formed the principal part of the lord's income. There are still extant several early thirteenth-century farming manuals written originally in Anglo-Norman French, such as *Le Dite de Hosebondrie* of Walter of Henley, and *Les Reules*



*Seynt Roberd* of Bishop Grosseteste. These are practical treatises embodying the wisdom of the time concerning rural economy, the keeping of estate accounts, the duties of the various estate officers, and the management of the household. Walter of Henley's work retained its pre-eminence for upwards of two hundred years, and even now may be read with benefit by the modern "gentleman-farmer". The *Rules* of Bishop Grosseteste were written for Margaret, countess of Lincoln, who in 1242 married Walter Marshal, earl of Pembroke, and the rules were no doubt well known and acted on in her husband's fief of Leinster. At any rate from the accounts of the ministers of Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk and lord of the liberty of Carlow, we have full information as to the way in which a great estate was managed in Ireland in the latter part of the thirteenth century. A seneschal of knightly rank, with a salary of £100 a year, presided over the court of the liberty of Carlow. He was head of the executive and had under him the constables of five castles. The treasurer held a mimic Court of Exchequer at Carlow, where the receivers, sergeants, and provosts of the various manors and burghs of the lordship rendered their accounts. The farm accounts, written in Latin, are a model for any modern farmer or land-steward. They include a full profit and loss account, showing in detail every item sold and the amount realized for each. Then follow the expenses—the cost of labor, building, repairs, materials, etc.—in detail, so that we can tell exactly the price of all kinds of farm produce and the wages of the different sorts of labor. Besides this there is a stock-taking account, showing precisely how every animal and every crannock of grain was dealt with in the year. The income of the lordship averaged about £750 a year, and the cost of management about £250.

Thirdly, another remarkable step in advance, directly due to the Norman occupation, was the growth of towns throughout the feudalized districts. Not only were the Scandinavian seaport towns enlarged, strengthened, and given a new impetus under royal charters to an expanding trade, but wherever the principal settlers built their castles and established their manorial seats, a small town generally grew up under their protection. The nucleus would be formed by the castle, the church—either an ancient one restored or one built anew—the mill, and the houses of the officials, artisans, and retainers, whose services would be required. If the surrounding settlement attained any importance a weekly market and an annual fair would be established by patent, and the town would receive a charter from the lord giving it many valuable rights and immunities, and thus further attracting merchants and traders. Burgage-land would be

set apart for the townspeople, who usually paid the small fixed rent of one shilling per annum for their burgages. In the course of time several of these towns were walled or otherwise enclosed. They were inhabited largely by men of English, as opposed to Norman, blood. Where they received a charter, the burgesses usually elected their own mayors or provosts and officers, held their own courts, established trade-gilds, and, while paying their burgage-rents and certain small dues to the lord, were practically exempt from feudal burdens and feudal control. Such were the royal cities of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, and the royal boroughs of Athlone, Drogheda, Louth, and Dungarvan. But besides these towns situated in the king's demesnes, towns grew up at all the more important manorial seats of the tenants-in-chief and of their principal feudatories. I have made a tentative and incomplete list of upwards of seventy. Indeed it is not too much to say that nearly all the existing towns in about three-fourths of Ireland—as well as some others that have since disappeared—owe their origin to the Norman settlement. I do not assert that all these towns received charters of incorporation, though a great many did. Others might perhaps more properly be described as thriving manorial villages possessing franchises of varying degrees of importance.

It may be said that many of these towns were insignificant. Well, everything in Ireland is on a humble scale. I do not of course compare these towns to the great communes of Lombardy, which never quite lost the traditions of the Roman *municipia*, nor, with one or two exceptions, to the cities and towns of contemporary England. They never attained the liberty, and were free from the license, of foreign communes, and hence we do not read of the riots and revolts and private wars of Irish towns. But in their small way they formed centres of industry and of free, orderly government, even when the surrounding country had become subject to a disorderly form of feudalism, or lay at the mercy of predatory Irish tribes.

Fourthly, *pari passu* with the growth of towns proceeded the growth of trade, inland and foreign. There are many indications of this, but one illustration must here suffice. New Ross, situated on the tide-way of the united Nore and Barrow, was founded by the great William Marshal early in the thirteenth century as a port for his Leinster fief, and was connected by a bridge with the road leading to his principal seat at Kilkenny. The remains of a beautiful Early English church attest its progress in architecture. The town was enclosed in the year 1265, and a contemporary poem in Anglo-Norman French shows that many trade-gilds were then in existence. A few years later, when we get numerous authentic details, there

were upwards of five hundred burgages in the town. Now in the year 1275 the magnates of Ireland granted to the king a custom, consisting of half a mark on each sack of wool, half a mark for each sack of three hundred sheepskins with the wool on, and one mark for each last of hides (twelve dozen) exported from certain ports. In five years this custom yielded from the port of New Ross no less a sum than £2630, and this sum must be multiplied by at least fifteen to get its equivalent in present currency. About the same time large quantities of wheat, cheese, and other supplies were sent from the same port to the Earl Marshal for the army in Wales. To the Normans indeed was due the introduction into general use of a coinage, without which trade cannot advance very far. The Norsemen, it is true, had minted silver coin, but their coinage does not seem to have been widely current, and the Irish kings had no mint of their own.

Fifthly, under the new régime the Church was brought into closer conformity with that of Western Europe and into more intimate relations with the papal see: its wealth was greatly increased, its status raised, and important immunities were granted to the clergy. The improved position of the Church and the reformation of morals were among Henry's professed objects in entering Ireland, and were, no doubt, those which the papal see had most at heart in the powerful support which it gave to Henry's undertaking. The Irish clergy too were not slow to recognize the advantages held out to them, and at once accepted Henry as their lord. One of Henry's first acts was to summon a synod of the clergy at Cashel, where the following amongst other decrees were promulgated: (1) that the faithful should pay tithes of cattle, corn, and other produce, to their parish churches; (2) that church property should be free from all secular exactions, and in particular that no one should henceforth exact refection and make visitations in church lands; (3) that when laymen compound for homicide, clerics, though of kin to the perpetrator, should pay no part of the fine. The payment of tithes had indeed been ordered before, but the order appears to have been generally neglected, and at any rate there can be little doubt that tithes were much more regularly paid henceforth—at least in the feudalized districts. The other regulations quoted would appear to have been important new immunities from customary burdens.

But the Norman settlers did much more for the Church and religion. At the close of the twelfth and in the thirteenth century many splendid monastic establishments were founded and handsomely endowed by them. Judging by such monastic registers and charters as have survived it would seem that there were few settlers who did not devote some portion of their lands toward the endow-

ment of some religious house. The healthier movement too of employing secular clergy as opposed to regulars or monks for the ordinary services of the churches received a decided impetus from the Norman ecclesiastics. A great advance too was made in ecclesiastical architecture. New and more spacious and more splendid fanes were now erected in the Transitional or, a little later, in the Early English style; such as the cathedrals of Dublin, Downpatrick, Kildare, Kilkenny, Ferns, Waterford, and Limerick; and many fine parish churches, such as may still in part be seen at Youghal, New Ross, Gowran, and other places.

Sixthly, among the results making for progress that followed from the Anglo-Norman occupation I reckon the undermining, so far as it went, of Celtic tribalism. Like the conquest it was only partial, and even in districts dominated generally by the Normans there were large patches where the Irish were allowed to remain under their old chieftains, with their antiquated organization, and subject to their archaic system of law. I cannot fully argue the question here, but I think that national unity was impossible in a loose political organization which involved rivalries, leading to violence, in the succession to each chieftainship; jealousies, leading to war, between tribe and tribe; and insubordination, leading to governmental weakness, between every link in the chain that led up to the nominal *ard-rí*. I further think that economic progress was impossible under a system of land tenure where the hereditary principle was not established, and where the land of the sept was subject to chronic redistribution; and finally that safety to life and limb could not be secured under a juridical system which merely aimed at imposing a fine on the family of the evil-doer—a system which failed to prevent the carrying on of blood-feuds from one generation to another. What progress Ireland would have made under her tribal system if the Normans had never settled there may perhaps not unfairly be estimated by the almost stationary condition of the more purely Celtic districts in the North. Between the upper reaches of the Shannon and the Bann, up to the age of Elizabeth, there was hardly a place deserving the name of town.

Seventhly, the connection with England brought Ireland into closer contact with the art and thought and life of Western Europe, and opened a channel by which she might obtain more readily a share in the intellectual heritage of all the ages. We have noted her gain as regards architecture and trade and ecclesiastical organization, but it was not less manifest in the whole scheme of civil government, executive, legislative, and judicial. Norman rule in Ireland marks

in particular the introduction into a country which had never been subject to Roman dominion, of ideas in the governance and organization of both Church and State which humanity owes ultimately to imperial Rome.

Nevertheless it must be admitted that what is sometimes called by its votaries "Irish Ireland" went on very much in its old way, little influenced by contact with new habits of thought and new modes of life. It seems indeed to be one of the most marked characteristics of the Celtic temperament in its native land to be ever looking backward to the past and paying little heed to the actual conditions of the life of the day. But in the lapse of time this purely Celtic temperament has become modified through the mingling of the races—for, in spite of impotent statutes, they have to a considerable extent intermingled. There is on the other hand much exaggeration in the view embodied in the telling phrase *Hibernis ipsis hiberniores*. That many descendants of Normans who intermarried with, and whose children were reared among, the Irish became as turbulent as the Irish themselves, may be true enough. Such turbulence will arise in any community where the central government is feeble and fails in the primary duty of keeping order. But the Anglo-Irish as a body never lost that energy of character, that power of initiative, and that capacity for leading and controlling men which they either inherited from their Norman ancestors or imbibed from the Norman tradition. Hence perhaps it is that so many great generals and eminent proconsuls of the British Empire have sprung from an Anglo-Irish stock, and that, with very few exceptions, even the great leaders of the Irish national movements, from the time of James II. to the present day, have been of Anglo-Irish descent.

I have now touched upon the most important results of early Norman rule in Ireland. They seem to me to constitute a great and rapid advance on the lines of medieval progress. That this early progress did not continue at the same rate—nay, that there was positive retrogression in some respects—was due to a variety of causes; contempt by the dominant for the subject race, and a short-sighted disregard of their welfare; inability of the Irish to face the facts, shake off old customs, and accommodate themselves to the larger life opening before them; a narrow, selfish, and nerveless policy on the part of the central authority, etc., etc. But above and beyond all such causes, the two systems of Normal feudalism, held in imperfect restraint, and Celtic tribalism, in a condition of arrested development, could not long exist side by side. One or other must give way. The weakness and neglect of a distant and preoccupied government decided which it was to be, and for upwards of two cen-

turies tribalism, which now extended to some of English descent, regained much of its former sway. Then at a time when feudalism, in the proper sense of the term, was a thing of the past, the inevitable task of the supersession of tribalism had to be undertaken by England in very self-defense at the cost of much pain and hardship to Ireland.

GODDARD H. ORPEN.



## HISTORICAL INVESTIGATION AND THE COMMERCIAL HISTORY OF THE NAPOLEONIC ERA

THE military, diplomatic, and political history of the Napoleonic era has exercised an apparently irresistible charm over the historian for an entire century now. Literally thousands of volumes—the latest bibliography on Napoleonic history speaks of 200,000 titles<sup>1</sup>—have been written on some phase or other of the history of this period. Yet among all this mass of historical writing, it is difficult to find any books of consequence that approach the subject from the economic standpoint, and comparatively few are found that deal with commercial history save in an incidental way. Indeed not more than the merest beginnings in this important field of history have been made. I say important, because rarely, if ever, have the interests and vicissitudes of commerce been so intimately and vitally related to the history of a period. Throughout the revolutionary and Napoleonic era, commercial interests were not only dynamic factors in shaping history, but dynamic factors of much more than usual power and influence.

It was commerce and the interests arising in connection with trade, industries, and colonies that underlay the wars, and again and again determined the policy of the belligerents. Schlegel was largely right when he wrote: "Cette guerre—la postérité le croira-t-elle?—s'annonça au monde comme une croisade contre le sucre et le café, contre les percales et les mousselines".<sup>2</sup> As early as 1794, Benjamin Constant declared in his pamphlet *On the Strength of the Present Government in France* that the intervention of England in behalf of the exiled monarchy was only a pretext to cover her efforts to keep down a growing rival, and was undertaken only because she (England) was determined to maintain her political and industrial supremacy. In the great debates in the Convention, we have constant references to the proud nation of traders, to the new Carthaginians, etc., whose commercial tyranny and greed would some day compel the nations of the Continent to unite for her undoing. Pitt understood the real character of the war when he declared that the new France "must be separated from the commercial world . . . be blockaded by land and sea", or, as the Danish

<sup>1</sup> Writing four years ago Kircheisen assured his readers that he had over 70,000 independent titles, and, if translations and editions were considered, over 200,000. Kircheisen, *Bibliographie du Temps de Napoléon* (Paris, 1908), p. viii.

<sup>2</sup> Schlegel, *Essais* (Bonn, 1847).

minister put it, be "strangled", "starved" into submission.<sup>3</sup> And in pursuance of this policy he brought about a whole series of commercial treaties against France. Thus in the third article of the convention with Russia in 1793, the two powers engage to "shut all their ports against French ships, not to permit the exportation, in any case, from their said ports for France, of any military or naval stores, or corn, grain, salt, meat or other provisions; and to take all other measures in their power for injuring the commerce of France, and for bringing her by such means, to just conditions of peace".<sup>4</sup> Against this threatened economic isolation the men of the Convention and of the Directory inveighed with much bitterness. In an impassioned speech Barère demanded a national navigation act against the arrogance of the nation of shopkeepers, while an article in the official journal declared, "Our policy must be directed solely to the ruin of the commerce of England . . . by shutting her out of the Continent."<sup>5</sup> And so effective were the new measures that Mallet du Pan could write with much truth, "Voilà les ports de l'Océan et de la Méditerranée fermés au commerce anglais; on est obligé de bâtir des magasins à Londres pour des montagnes des marchandises invendues."<sup>6</sup>

By no one was the real economic basis of this struggle more clearly recognized and understood than by Bonaparte himself. "J'aurais changé la route du commerce et la face de l'industrie", he said at St. Helena. Under his direction, the intense protectionist policy of the Terror and of the Directory, with its idea of defense, became one of rigid exclusion and offense.<sup>7</sup> He rejected the demands of the English for commercial concessions during the negotiations for the peace of Amiens, and the loud complaints of the English trade element that followed the publication of the terms of that peace are excellent testimony to his penetrating insight into the real nature of the conflict. Napoleon saw clearly that by intensifying his prohibitive tariff he could exclude British manufactures and colonial products from France and her allied states, while by special regulations he could force trade into French bottoms. This he actually did. The commercial warfare was "not even nominally discontinued" during the year of peace, and what is

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Register*, 1793, "State Papers", p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> *Parliamentary History*, XXX. 1033, *et passim*. It should also be noted that the same policy underlay that part of Jay's ill-fated treaty which the Senate rejected.

<sup>5</sup> *Redacteur*, October 29, 1796.

<sup>6</sup> Mallet du Pan, *Mémoires et Correspondance* (Paris, 1851), II. 276.

<sup>7</sup> Bonaparte's return from Italy is marked by the wholesale confiscation of British goods. The law of 1796 was rigorously enforced and the First Consul's system of "thorough" inaugurated.

more, the fight threatened to be waged with much greater effectiveness for France under the new conditions.<sup>8</sup> Sooner or later the rupture of the peace of Amiens was inevitable, even if Switzerland and Malta had not hastened it. From this time on the driving force of all Napoleon's efforts was to destroy British trade and thus indirectly ruin her industry. Unable to attack her directly, he bent all his energies to accomplishing the destruction of the hated rival by intercepting her trade routes and shutting her out from the markets of the Continent. For he believed implicitly in the idea, reformulated with such telling effect at this time by Montgaillard, that "to destroy British commerce is to strike England to the heart".<sup>9</sup> In carrying this idea into effect, he became involved, as is well known, first, in the extension of his system of exclusion over the conquered lands, and secondly, in the conquest of further territory in order to bring it too under the system.<sup>10</sup> Political domination, with Napoleon, in accordance with a widely accepted theory of the period, meant absolute control of trade, and it is this ulterior purpose that again and again determined his political and military policy.<sup>11</sup> His dealings with Tuscany, Naples, Prussia, Holland, and Russia all find an important part of their explanation in this condition.

But in addition to the manifest and intimate relationship of the history of commerce to the general history of the period, there are other and even more important reasons that call for a careful study of the commercial history of these years. As has been intimated above, these lie mainly in the fact that so many of the great movements of the nineteenth century have their origins in the economic conditions of this epoch. Here we have the explanation of the lead gained by England in industry and commerce over her Continental rivals. She was fortunate in entering upon her industrial revolution early, and still more fortunate in being able to afford the new forces an opportunity for development, free from those violent interruptions through war and invasion which stifled the embryonic industrial revolution on the Continent. For as Grenville well said in defending England's policy of subsidizing her allies, it is "more politic to pay foreign troops, than to take our own youth from the plough and the loom".<sup>12</sup> This together with the effective applica-

<sup>8</sup> Upon the signing of the peace, British merchants sent their ships to France only to be refused admission. During the year the government developed a new and stringent tariff law which passed on April 28, 1803. Two weeks later England resumed hostilities.

<sup>9</sup> Montgaillard, *Mémoires Diplomatiques, 1805-1819* (Paris, 1896), p. 72.

<sup>10</sup> *Moniteur*, January 30, 1803.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Fichte, *Der Geschlossene Handelsstaat* (Vienna, 1801), p. 109.

<sup>12</sup> *Parliamentary History*, XXXI. 452.

tion of inventions and machinery increased her power of production over that of her rivals to such an extent that for more than half a century after peace had been restored she was able to undersell them in their own markets.

Similarly we find in the conditions imposed by this commercial struggle the beginnings of the industrial revolution in many sections of the Continent. Sweeping changes and modifications in the manufactures and trade of particular regions occurred. The progress of certain areas was for the time being entirely arrested, while in others it was fostered and grew by leaps and bounds. Side by side with new industrial areas, new routes of trade and novel methods of exchange were created. Even in the United States the vicissitudes of commerce during the Napoleonic era had a widely extended influence quite apart from the struggle for the establishment of the rights of neutrals and the freedom of the sea. The Embargo, Non-Intercourse, and other acts of the restrictive period have a vital relationship to the beginnings of American industry that well repay careful study.

More specific evidence of the significance and the many-sidedness of the subject will appear below in a discussion of the rich, and practically unexploited, archival material, and in the consideration of those phases of the economic history of the period which seem especially in need of serious study. Before entering upon a discussion of these two problems, however, it will be of interest to examine briefly the work already done.<sup>13</sup>

Of the studies in English those by Professor J. Holland Rose<sup>14</sup> and Admiral Mahan<sup>15</sup> stand out conspicuously above the rest. By Mr. Rose, we have the *Life of Napoleon, Napoleonic Studies*, and a number of articles, two of which are expressly on the economic history of the period. One is the chapter on the Continental System in the *Cambridge Modern History*,<sup>16</sup> another an article on "Napoleon and English Commerce", which appeared in 1893.<sup>17</sup> To Mr. Rose we owe some very happy suggestions as well as much original work. He points out clearly the economic factors behind the policies of France and England, and the striking continuity and consistency

<sup>13</sup> On the historical work in this field since 1900 there appeared last year an able article by M. Marcel Dunan, entitled, "Le Système Continental: Bulletin d'Histoire Économique, 1900-1911", *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, III, 115-145 (January, 1913).

<sup>14</sup> Rose, *Life of Napoleon I.* (London and New York, fourth ed., 1910); *Napoleonic Studies* (London, second ed., 1906).

<sup>15</sup> Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire, 1793-1812* (2 vols., London and Boston, 1893).

<sup>16</sup> *Cambridge Modern History*, IX, 361-389.

<sup>17</sup> *English Historical Review*, VIII, 704-725 (1893).

from the revolutionary period, through the coast system, to the decrees and orders of the later period. Mr. Rose makes use of the archives, but he does not carry his use of them far enough. Much of his work is based upon a few selected sources instead of upon a patient use of the extensive collections so easily within his reach. The interest of Admiral Mahan is pre-eminently that of the naval officer, but he possesses an unusually fine sense for historic values, and this, coupled with a thorough mastery of the sources in print, is the basis for a work, which, from its interpretative value, is of the very highest order. It is moreover much more a commercial history of the period than would at first thought appear. Commerce, its promotion and destruction, becomes the principal concern of the sea power after Trafalgar and it is therefore inevitable that Mahan's volumes should contain much valuable material on the subject even though it is secondary to the author's main thesis. The article by Professor Sloane on "The Continental System of Napoleon" is an excellent survey based upon Mahan, Lumbroso, Rocke, and others, but not in any sense an original contribution.<sup>18</sup>

Of the French historians, Sorel devoted the first part of his seventh volume, which he calls "Le Blocus Continental", to this phase of the subject, but the author's interest is too largely political and diplomatic to admit of an adequate treatment of the economic aspects of the situation.<sup>19</sup> The same holds true to an even greater degree of Coquelle's biased *Napoléon et l'Angleterre, 1803-1813*.<sup>20</sup> Bertin's doctoral dissertation, entitled *Le Blocus Continental*, emphasizes the legal aspects of the subject.<sup>21</sup> Of the scholarly volumes by Lanzac de Laborie on Paris under Napoleon mention is made below. At least two deal with economic questions. Lumbroso's *Napoleone e l'Inghilterra: Saggio sulla Origine del Blocco Continentale e sulle sue Conseguenze Economiche*<sup>22</sup> lacks method and thoughtful presentation. While avowedly devoting itself to the economic history of the period, it is suggestive rather than adequate, and contributes little that is new. Much more incisive and up-to-date is the recent study by Audrey Cunningham, *British Credit in the last Napoleonic War*.<sup>23</sup> Considering the fact that the work is based entirely on printed material, it presents a remarkably clear exposé of forces and motives, but it lacks finality because of its narrow range of

<sup>18</sup> Sloane, "The Continental System of Napoleon", *Political Science Quarterly*, XIII. 213-231 (1898).

<sup>19</sup> Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution Française, 1789-1815* (8 vols., Paris, 1885-1904).

<sup>20</sup> Paris, 1904.

<sup>21</sup> Bertin, *Le Blocus Continental* (Paris, 1902).

<sup>22</sup> Rome, 1897.

<sup>23</sup> Cambridge, 1910.

authorities. Of Drottboom's laudable effort to show the influence of geography upon Napoleonic history, in his little pamphlet of one hundred pages, only a mention need be made.<sup>24</sup> A work of an earlier period is *Die Kontinentalsperre in ihrer Oekonomisch-Politischen Bedeutung: ein Beitrag zur Handelsgeschichte*, by Kiesselbach, published at Stuttgart in 1850. It is a little volume of about 160 pages and was for a long time the only good study of the Continental System in its economic aspects. The author shows a remarkable appreciation of Napoleon's economic policies, and furnishes the suggestions for most of the later works on the subject. In view of its date, it is a work of such superior merit that the monograph by Rocke, *Die Kontinentalsperre und ihre Einwirkungen auf die Französische Industrie*,<sup>25</sup> scarcely merits a mention. *England's Vorherrschaft aus der Zeit der Kontinentalsperre*, by Peez and Dehn, which appeared recently, is likewise unscholarly but less reprehensible because it is a "Tendenzschrift" and for the most part the work of journalists who had thought seriously on economic history, and who, without any appreciation of the best sources, set out with naïve frankness to tell "what others have failed to say". The work has a distinct value, but the serious historical student will find in Paul Darmstädter's "Studien zur Napoleonischen Wirtschaftspolitik", the first real advance over Kiesselbach, and much the best work that has been done on the subject.<sup>26</sup> The reason for this lies largely in the fact that Darmstädter went directly to the archival sources for his material. As a result, his work, so far as it goes, has a degree of finality that is entirely absent from the others thus far mentioned. Indeed only in a few of the best "regional studies", which are discussed on page 271 below, is this quality to be found.

Turning from the survey of the secondary histories in this field to a consideration of the historical sources upon which such works, if they are to stand, must be based, it is evident that for English commercial history for these years, the sources are to be found mainly in the great collections of historical material, especially in the Board of Trade Papers and the Admiralty Records, at the Public Record Office in London. The records of the proceedings of the Committee on Trade, together with the great mass of its correspondence and reports, are all accessible. Among the latter the

<sup>24</sup> Drottboom, *Wirtschaftsgeographische Betrachtungen über die Wirkungen der Napoleonischen Kontinentalsperre auf Industrie und Handel* (Bonn, 1906).

<sup>25</sup> Naumburg, 1894.

<sup>26</sup> Darmstädter, "Studien zur Napoleonischen Wirtschaftspolitik", *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- u. Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, II. 559-615, III. 112-141 (Berlin, 1904-1905).



"In-Letters" are of particular value, for they reveal with unusual vividness the conditions and movements of trade and commerce in every part of the world. As an illustration of the material in the Admiralty Records, the volumes of *Miscellanea* for 1802-1815 may be cited.<sup>27</sup> They are crammed full of miscellaneous information on convoys, passes, licenses, etc. The sources at the British Museum are naturally more fragmentary, though often of exceptional value, as the presence of the volumes containing the Admiralty letters to Lord Nelson shows.<sup>28</sup> They are scattered in the different manuscript collections, no effort to bring them together or to make a guide to the material having been made. Then there are the Privy Council Registers and other records, among which a large pile of uncatalogued bundles in the basement of Whitehall should not be overlooked, for it is precisely among these, even though they are worthless in the main, that the scanty records of the council's proceedings can sometimes be supplemented. Indeed, when one comes upon rough drafts of minutes or Orders in Council much worked over and corrected in a familiar hand, others with marginal comments of the opinions of members, as for example, "Bathurst present", "Bathurst, thinks", etc., the desire for the opportunity to follow up these suggestive leads as to the men who shaped British policy becomes very strong. The Bathurst Papers must contain a wealth of information on the origin of the Orders in Council as well as on the administrative policy associated with them at different times.<sup>29</sup>

And this suggests the possibility of a more thorough use of the published papers of men like Canning, Castlereagh, Pitt, and others; of the Parliamentary papers; of the correspondence of British agents and diplomats; and especially of the published decisions of the High Court of Admiralty, which have been almost entirely neglected.<sup>30</sup> That the books and registers of the customs must be a source of peculiar value is evident. Unfortunately, however, those relating to this period suffered particularly in the fire of

<sup>27</sup> Admiralty, Secretary, *Miscellanea*; also Board Room Journals (1802-1815).

<sup>28</sup> Add. MSS. 34,935-34,936, British Museum.

<sup>29</sup> For a statement on the Bathurst Papers and transcripts accessible in America, see *Report of Canadian Archives* for 1910, pp. 84-90.

<sup>30</sup> The decisions in particular cases by the admiralty judges, notably those of Sir William Scott, are often accompanied by remarkably clear and forceful reviews of the British maritime law and practice of the time, and for this reason the proceedings constitute a unique source for the study of the commercial history of the period. The published reports of particular importance here are *Reports of Cases argued and determined in the High Court of Admiralty, commencing with the Judgments of the Right Hon. Sir William Scott, Michaelmas Term, 1798* (6 vols., London, 1799-1808).

1814 which destroyed so much that would be of great value to the student of commercial history.<sup>31</sup>

Into the French sources it is impossible here to go in detail. In general, however, I am satisfied that the material is not only richer, but very much more definite and positive in character than that found in England. Not only has much of the material from the departmental archives of the period relating to the subject found its way to Paris, but under Napoleon's highly centralized government the story of the entire system is focused to a remarkable degree in the records of a number of governmental bodies, the minutes of whose proceedings are accessible. To obtain an idea of the value and bulk of this, one need only consult the very excellent *Inventaires* of the Archives Nationales by M. Schmidt.<sup>32</sup>

Yet it is a fact that of the scores upon scores of volumes and cartons on the commercial history of this period by far the largest part has not been utilized.<sup>33</sup> To pass in review here the mass of material at the Archives Nationales, the ministries of marine, colonies, and foreign affairs, would be futile; a few suggestive illustrations will suffice to indicate the character and the richness of the material. Napoleon was insatiable in his demands for information; scores of orders calling for special investigations are scattered through the records. Thus on July 30, 1807, he orders:

The Ministers of the Interior and of Finance will each give me their opinion upon the advantages and disadvantages of a general measure inhibiting all vessels laden with tobacco, sugar, coffee, cotton and other things of this sort from entering France under a foreign flag save on the condition of exporting manufactures of France or the products of French soil equal in value to the cargo imported. . . . They will answer the following questions.<sup>34</sup>

As a result of orders of this kind, we have frequent and very full reports by the different ministers respecting the conditions in their

<sup>31</sup> About 600 (?) volumes were destroyed according to the testimony of Mr. Irving before the Committee on Trade soon after the fire. Among the lots specified are such items as the following: "American Ledgers containing the accounts of that part of the trade of the British Dominions which is not carried on by direct intercourse with Great Britain . . . from their origin in 1787 to 1812. . . . In all 26 volumes. The whole are destroyed." B. T., 5/23, 158. P. R. O.

<sup>32</sup> For a brief summary of these consult *Cambridge Modern History*, IX, 787-788.

<sup>33</sup> The fullest use of this material of which I am aware has been made by Dr. Frank E. Melvin in his investigation of the French and British license system. A portion of the results of this research he has embodied in his study entitled "Napoleon's Navigation Policy with Special Reference to the Licence System" (University of Pennsylvania dissertation, 1913). I am indebted to him for a number of references to characteristic material on this subject cited below.

<sup>34</sup> *Correspondance de Napoléon I.*, XV, 455.

respective jurisdictions: by Cretet and Montalivet, Napoleon's able ministers of the interior, by Decrès, the minister of marine, by Gaudin and Mollien, of finance and the treasury, by Collin, director-general of customs, by Champagny, minister of foreign affairs, by Fouché, minister of police, and by many others.

In general the reports in reply to these were based upon preliminary and individual reports by the staff or bureau within the particular department of the government concerned. Indeed Napoleon's ministers were as exacting as the master himself. In most of the bureaus reports were made with great regularity,<sup>35</sup> and to these were, of course, added the special reports made necessary by Napoleon's imperative demands for information on particular occasions. Thus, as a result of a special order, we have a remarkable report in 1811 by Rovigo embodying investigations by the government's officials in every department of the empire on the effect of the Continental System and the public attitude toward it.<sup>36</sup> For relations with foreign powers the reports by Champagny afford a remarkable review of foreign policy at different times. In the early part of 1811, for example, we have one of unusual value for the diplomatic or international phases of the Continental System. It is a summary of the correspondence with the powers concerning their adoption of the Trianon Tariff, and takes up the emperor's policy in its relation to each of the European states.<sup>37</sup>

Indeed the reports of the emperor's ambassadors, agents, and special representatives are of much more than ordinary importance because the diplomacy of the period was still without those rapid means of communication which make of national representatives abroad the marionettes of the ministry at home. Their instructions therefore much more nearly embodied the policies of the government they represented, and their correspondence in turn naturally aimed at as full an account as possible of the conditions with which the representative had to deal. Then there are the reports on trade in different countries by special agents. They were usually made by experts chosen from the membership of this or that chamber of commerce and may well serve as a point of departure for a study of the commercial history of particular regions and trade centres,

<sup>35</sup> Cf. for example, an order by Montalivet, almost immediately on his being made minister of the interior, to the prefects, calling for periodical reports on the working of the license system. Archives Nationales, series F12. 2033.

<sup>36</sup> Archives Nationales, series AF IV. 1062. These reports by Rovigo in the early part of January of 1811 cover many pages and form a unique source for the effect of the Continental System on France.

<sup>37</sup> Archives Nationales, series AF IV. 1318.

like Frankfort, Leipzig, the Baltic, Switzerland, etc.<sup>38</sup> They pave the way for the use of material in the local archives, some of which, like the official reports by the Saxon Commission of Commerce, Industry, etc., on the great Leipzig Fairs, are of much more than local importance.<sup>39</sup> In the same way, reports from the emperor's agents and from representative banking and commercial houses on the policy and practice of England furnish an interesting light from an altogether novel angle upon that side of the history of the period.<sup>40</sup>

More important and of inestimable value for the later years are the *Procès Verbaux* of the Conseil du Commerce created by Napoleon in 1810 for the particular purpose of dealing with this phase of imperial interests.<sup>41</sup> Unlike the English Privy Council and more like the Committee on Trade, this body kept a very careful record of its proceedings, and the official minutes of the weekly meetings constitute the most important source in existence for the economic history of these years of the Napoleonic era.<sup>42</sup> It is impossible to give an adequate idea of the variety and importance of subjects discussed and acted upon, from the advisability of allowing permits for the export of grain, wine, brandies, etc., in exchange for British goods, to the latest report on trade from Hamburg or the policy to be adopted toward America. Nor is this all; nowhere is the man Napoleon brought so near to us. Here we find him in scores of short, precise orders and instructions, in criticisms and comments dictated to his secretaries or scrawled over his own signature—usually the familiar and vigorous initial "N" in the margin. It is precisely in records of this sort, rather than in the diplomatic correspondence, that we find the real motives and purposes of Napoleon, and I am convinced that a thorough study of these will force us to modify considerably the accepted view of the emperor's dealings with America, based upon the conclusions of Henry Adams

<sup>38</sup> By way of illustration see the "Compte Rendu de la Mission du Commissaire aux foires de Frankfort et Leipsick", laid before the emperor in the Conseil du Commerce on November 19, 1810. Archives Nationales, series AF IV. 1242, and AF IV. 1061, where the report is also to be found. The person charged with the mission was M. Mottes, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce at Lyons. Other examples are "Compte rendu de la Mission à Hamburg", etc.

<sup>39</sup> Kgl. Sachs. H.S.A., Loc. 2235, etc. "Acta der Landes- Oekonomie- Manufaktur- und Commercen-Deputation, Mess-Relationes".

<sup>40</sup> As an example of this kind of material the letters of the firm of Van Aken et fils, Ghent, may be cited. Archives Nationales, series F12, 2164.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. instructions in relation to the creation of the Conseil du Commerce by Napoleon. AF IV. 1241.

<sup>42</sup> The proceedings are found *ibid.*, 1241 ff. Besides the *Procès Verbaux*, there are the Annexes, consisting of reports, correspondence, etc., upon the questions taken up by the Conseil. These are often very numerous, sometimes over a hundred for a single session.

and Armstrong. The letters, reports, etc., upon which ministers and emperor made their decisions, the abrupt, trenchant orders dictated by the latter, give us, as it were, the naked facts, unadorned and unobscured by the dress of diplomatic phraseology in which Talleyrand or Champagny arrayed them.<sup>43</sup>

But the American student is fortunate in having primary sources of his own nearer at home for preliminary work at least. Indeed it is surprising how largely the story of the commercial history of the period is to be found in the American State Papers. I refer of course to the manuscripts of the State Department at Washington, for as is well known, only a small portion of the correspondence even of the regular envoys is in print.<sup>44</sup> Of the Consular Letters, the importance of which Professor Jameson pointed out some years ago, almost none have been printed, and yet it is precisely in these that the commercial history of the period is most directly reflected.<sup>45</sup> The American consular agents were often very well informed on European affairs, but even when they were blissfully unconscious of the real causes behind the sudden shifting of the currents of trade, the very naïveté of their comments is often the best proof of the reliability of their reports on trade conditions.

Mr. Appleton, writing from Leghorn in February of 1806, when the exclusion of British commerce from certain coast areas was driving trade in to the few ports still open, says:

You will perceive Sir, by the former letter how considerably our commerce has increased with Leghorn, when compared with any preceding year, but your astonishment will rise still higher, when you are informed that on my arrival here in 1798 there had been until then only 21 American vessels from the period of independence of the United States.<sup>46</sup>

In a letter some months later accompanying a list of American vessels that had cleared from Leghorn during the preceding six months, he says, "You will observe Sir, that in this space of time, the commerce with the United States has something more than doubled that of any former period." Notwithstanding impending

<sup>43</sup> In Archives Nationales, series AF IV. 1061, there is for example a suggestive *annexe* entitled: "Rapport et Projet de décret tendant à révoquer les Lois du Blocus vis à vis des Américains", etc., and in F<sup>12</sup>. 612, "Observations sur la Situation actuelle de nos Relations Commerciales avec les Américains". October 30, 1809.

<sup>44</sup> McLaughlin, *Report on the Diplomatic Archives of the Department of State* (Washington, 1904), pp. 10-19. Of the numerous communications by John Quincy Adams from St. Petersburg during the critical years 1809-1813 only three are printed in the *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*.

<sup>45</sup> AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XVI. 64-66 (1910).

<sup>46</sup> Letter of February 27, 1806. Consular Letters, Leghorn, 1795-1806, State Department.

political changes and the "prohibition of the entrance of all merchandise, the growth or manufacture of Great Britain, nevertheless the vessels of neutrals are suffered by the British cruisers to enter freely the port".<sup>47</sup> "The impending political changes" here alluded to descended quickly; Leghorn was closed and we hear nothing further from the consul.

But at the same time with the silencing of Mr. Appleton, we have Mr. Riffin, consul at Trieste, reporting joyfully a great increase in the shipping at his port. He writes:

This country continues to maintain its neutrality which has hitherto been respected by the belligerent powers, the order for the exclusion of English and Russian vessels from Austrian ports remains in force, but these governments do not appear to resent it, and although the ports in the Adriatic gulf not subject to Austria are strictly blockaded by the squadrons of those powers, yet the trade of this port communicating with places not interdicted has never been molested, and our ships in particular have been treated respectfully by all parties.<sup>48</sup>

Six months later, however, he tells a different story, for the British admirals had received orders to stop the coastwise trade by neutrals.

This Port and its dependencies continuing shut to British and Russian ships, the commerce of it has been much interrupted the last six months in consequence of the British Edict of the 7th of January, which subjects neutral vessels to capture bound from one port to another, both which ports British ships are prevented trading at; the whole commerce between this port, Spain, France and its dependencies is consequently interdicted, together with the whole trade of Turkey, which as well as being prohibited by the British Edict, the Russian Admiral commanding in the Archipelago has declared the whole Turkish dominions in a state of blockade.<sup>49</sup>

The significance of this to American commerce is, of course, evident at once when it is remembered that nearly all American vessels indulged very largely in this kind of trade in order to dispose of and secure cargoes to advantage.<sup>50</sup>

In a few instances I have found discrepancies between the accepted views of even the most recent historians and these consular letters, that point to the necessity of a revision of our ideas on the subject. A case in point relates to the French license trade. Mr. Lee, writing from Bordeaux in June, 1809, sends home a copy of a

<sup>47</sup> Letter of July 14, 1806. *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Letter of January 1, 1807. Consular Letters, Trieste, 1800-1832, State Department. Evidence of this kind is of particular value when taken in connection with the long and troubled negotiations between Napoleon and Austria concerning the closing of the Adriatic ports. Cf. *Correspondance de Napoléon I.*, vols. 11-15, and the *Moniteur* for 1805-1807.

<sup>49</sup> Letter of June 30, 1807. *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Cf. voyage of the *Helvétius*, Stephen Girard Papers.



license to export certain French products, notably grain, executed at the Tuileries on the first of April, 1809, and signed by Napoleon, Maret, and Cretet. Along with this sample or copy of Napoleon's first licenses are some suggestive comments by Mr. Lee on the conditions under which the licenses were granted.<sup>51</sup> But it is generally held that Napoleon did not inaugurate his license trade so early.<sup>52</sup> Indeed Mr. Rose bases one of his brilliant discussions of Napoleon's reasons for violating his Continental System by the inauguration of a license system upon conditions prevalent in 1810, apparently overlooking the facts which Mr. Lee so clearly brings out that the policy and the practice are of earlier date. On the operation of this system, as finally established, Mr. Lee writes, three years later, "Most of the vessels expedited to England have returned to the port loaded with West India produce. From forty to sixty pounds sterling *per* ton freight has been given by the English merchant to get his goods into France."<sup>53</sup>

On the subject of the abuse of the American flag and the temptations of the consuls, he writes:

I have already mentioned to you the delicate situation I am frequently placed in by refusing to grant consular certificates to vessels purchased here by Americans on French account. The merchants of the city really believe that they render a great service to our commerce when they find means of putting their ships under the flag of the United States. They even tell me that it is my duty, and the wish of my government that I assist them in this particular, and when they find persuasions will not answer they generally finish by offering me from one thousand to five thousand francs according to the magnitude of the object.<sup>54</sup>

In 1805 he reported:

Upon a moderate calculation there are out of this and neighboring ports of France and Spain one hundred and twenty, perhaps one hundred and fifty, sail of vessels under American colours of which two-thirds are owned by foreigners. Some of the consuls at this port get two and a half and five per cent for neutralizing (as it is called) French ships, whether this goes into their own pockets or is accounted for with their respective governments I cannot say.<sup>55</sup>

Four years later he wrote, "The English . . . send shoals of

<sup>51</sup> Letter of June 11, 1809. Consular Letters, Bordeaux, 1804-1809, State Department.

<sup>52</sup> Rose, *Life of Napoleon*, II. 203-206; *Cambridge Modern History*, IX. 372, 375; cf. also Cunningham, *British Credit in the last Napoleonic War*, p. 60.

<sup>53</sup> Letter of October 2, 1812. Consular Letters, Bordeaux, 1810-1815, State Department. This should be compared with reports to the Conseil du Commerce found in series AF IV. 1241, 1242, and 1243.

<sup>54</sup> Letter of November 29, 1804. Consular Letters, Bordeaux, 1804-1809.

<sup>55</sup> Letter of April 25, 1805. *Ibid.*

American vessels from their ports, who never saw America, and whose papers were manufactured in London."<sup>56</sup> Among the most valuable of the consular reports at Washington in this field are those of Mr. Harris from St. Petersburg, supplemented after 1809 by the diplomatic correspondence of John Quincy Adams, for they deal not only with Russian conditions but with the Baltic trade as well.

These few examples from the Consular Letters will serve to indicate the value of the evidence. Practically all the important phases of the history of commerce of the time: the policy of the belligerents; the position of neutral trade; the sequestration of American ships and cargoes; the frauds of the neutral flag, particularly the enormous trade under the Stars and Stripes, so large a part of which was manifestly fraudulent; these and other interesting topics all find graphic description in the accounts of actual cases arising in the jurisdiction of the different consuls. In other words, it is evidence on the operation of the commercial legislation of the period, as well as on the trade itself, that we have here.

To family and private papers relating to the commercial history of this period, I can refer only in passing. That they constitute a source which the economic historian can ill afford to neglect is evident. The best body of material of this kind at present accessible is the large collection of mercantile records of the firm of Ellis and Allen, etc., of Richmond, Virginia. Along with these should be mentioned for this period the Taylor and the Sylvanus Bourne papers.<sup>57</sup> By way of illustration of their character and value, I quote below (pp. 280-281) from the papers of America's great merchant prince of those years, Mr. Stephen Girard of Philadelphia.

With this we can leave our review of existing works and sources on the commercial history of the Napoleonic era and proceed to a consideration of those phases of the subject which have not yet been satisfactorily treated but for which abundant material exists. Of these the first in point of time is the inception and development of Napoleon's coast system. For long before the Berlin Decree, which is often erroneously regarded as marking the inception of the Continental System, a policy of coast closure—a coast system—had been developed with remarkable energy and forethought by Napoleon. As evidence of this we have the emperor's treaties with the maritime states, his instructions to his generals and diplomats, and more especially, records of the actual movement of commerce. That this

<sup>56</sup> Letter of November 1, 1808. *Ibid.* Cf. also *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 341, *et passim*.

<sup>57</sup> Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress. Here also is found the interesting log book of the merchant ship *Lexington* for 1807-1808, and the papers of the United States Custom-House of Savannah, Georgia.

coast closure, to which Professor Rose first gave the name, has received little or no attention from students is only less surprising than the fact that the corresponding British policy, begun somewhat earlier, and also developed through treaties, remains as to its inception and origin, likewise quite obscure. On the French side M. Schmidt of the Archives Nationales has announced a volume on the subject. By way of a beginning we need a thorough investigation of the treaties, correspondence, instructions, and bulletins, to be followed by an investigation of the material in the local archives and a study of the trade returns so far as they exist.

On the origin of the British policy a number of studies exist for the earlier period, but we need a study starting with the rule of 1756 and tracing the British Navigation Acts and policy through Pitt's last administration and the isolation treaties, if I may so call them, against France, to the Orders in Council. We must know more of the men and more of the interests behind the men who shaped the policy. In the years of the Orders in Council, Brougham, Stephens, Perceval, Rose, and above all Bathurst were leaders, and they and their particular relation to the commercial interests need study.

Upon the actual operation of the gigantic system of economic warfare established by the belligerents, good work has been done for certain regions. This is particularly true of the Germans, whose *études regionales*, as the French call them, have the merit of being based upon a careful use of the regional records coupled in a few cases with a limited use of the French archives.<sup>58</sup> The field is large

<sup>58</sup> As an illustration of work along this line the excellent study by Ch. Schmidt, *Le Grand-Duché de Berg, 1806-1813: Étude sur la Domination Française en Allemagne sous Napoléon Ier* (Paris, 1905), deserves special mention. A work of equal scholarship, though not showing the same grasp of the subject, is by Albin König, *Die Sächsische Baumwollenindustrie am Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts und während der Kontinentalsperre* (Leipzig, 1899). Differing somewhat as to its conclusions from the work by Darmstädter, mentioned below, is Anton Schmitter's *Die Wirkungen der Kontinentalsperre auf Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt-on-the-Main, 1910). Cérenville's *Le Système Continental et la Suisse, 1803-1813* (Lausanne, 1906) is a work in which the author seeks to bring together the results of the more detailed studies by different writers on particular cantons. As a corrective of M. de Cérenville's hostile attitude toward Napoleon, we have "Napoléon et les Cantons Suisses", by Dunan, *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes* (September, 1912). Besides these, there are a dozen or so of minor works and a score of articles dealing with local phases of the commercial history of Germany during the Napoleonic period. Among the former the histories of the different chambers of commerce, as for example Darmstädter's monumental *Geschichte der Handelskammer zu Frankfurt a. M.* (1908), are often of much merit and value. Less learned but very suggestive is the work by Richard Zeyss on the creation of the various chambers of commerce and industry in the region of the Lower Rhine during French occupation. His chapter on "L'Influence douanier Française" is an excellent illustration of the opportunities in this field.

and important. Indeed as there was scarcely a country that did not at one time or another during the great commercial struggle have its usual economic life rudely forced into new and unnatural channels, so there is scarcely a region where local studies will not well repay the effort.

There is need of a study of the relationship of Napoleon's system to the subsidiary states on the one hand and to the allied states on the other; of the way in which the latter were made tributary to the interests of France by carefully planned tariffs and other regulations; of a study of the effect of Napoleon's system upon the industrial development of the different areas in central Europe, for, as has been pointed out, the effects differed greatly in different areas.<sup>59</sup> For example, we find the industries of Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine as far as Alsace progressing by leaps and bounds while those of Westphalia, of Saxony, etc., decline and languish.<sup>60</sup> The economic unity of the Rhine valley was first interrupted by the application of the French tariff system to the left bank of the river in July, 1798, and then completely destroyed by the high protective tariff of Napoleon in April of 1806, which interrupted legal intercourse between the east and west banks of the river as effectively as if this great natural highway had been a mountain chain. There is need of special studies of the new channels into which commerce was forced for the time when the old ones were dammed up, and of the results thus produced upon different regions, especially upon the great trade centres like Leipzig and Frankfurt. With these as a starting-point, there should be a study of the more permanent effects upon the commercial and industrial development. We need, to specify further, a good dissertation on the Baltic trade from 1807 to 1812, when the defection of Russia from the French alliance led to the invasion of Russia and

<sup>59</sup> The efforts of Napoleon to secure the markets of the Continent for French industry receive especial attention in Darmstädter's "Studien zur Napoleonischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte", the case of Italy being developed with considerable care. The subject comes up for discussion constantly before the Conseil du Commerce, etc., the session of June 11, 1810, affording an interesting illustration. The minutes record the following, "Question de S.M. avant la tenue de ce conseil", "Quelles sont les entraves que nos manufactures éprouvent en Italie, en Espagne, dans le nord et en Allemagne? Que faut-il faire pour lever ces entraves et pour favoriser le débit des marchandises fabriquées en France?" Archives Nationales, F12, 2033.

<sup>60</sup> Mahaim's article, *Les Débuts de l'Etablissement John Cockerill à Seraing*, (1905), affords an interesting example of the creation of separate industries in the Netherlands at this time. On January 7, 1811, the minutes of the Council speak of a report on a "Demande de fabriquer de Fusils par la Westphalie". Archives Nationales, series AF IV. 1242.

the disastrous retreat from Moscow.<sup>61</sup> For the influence of grain, hemp, herrings, sugar, cotton, gingham, and muslins upon the events that brought on this great military tragedy is as yet only guessed. For similar reasons, a study of the grain supply for the period would, I am convinced, reveal conditions and forces quite unknown at present. The extent to which Napoleon had the interests of the agriculturist at heart is well known and it is not at all surprising that the appeal of the farmers of Brittany brought about a serious modification of his great system.<sup>62</sup>

The extent to which English wares and colonial products found their way to the marts of Europe despite Napoleon's restrictions, the actual increase in cost, if any, to the consumer, and the soundness of the claim that the discontent thus caused by the Continental System underlay the popular uprising against Napoleon require special study. Of the effect of the system in France, Levasseur<sup>63</sup> and others have given us a fair appreciation.<sup>64</sup> It is a matter of interest, however, to the prospective student of the subject, that the whole mass of manuscript material from the departments and even the records of the chambers of commerce, most of which are to be found in Paris, have not been utilized, save here and there, so that even in its relation to French industry and commerce the field presents comparatively virgin soil.<sup>65</sup>

But perhaps the most surprising thing of all in the study of this field is the neglect of the systematic modifications or ameliorations of the decrees and orders of the belligerents through administrative measures. No study of either the English or the French license system on scientific lines has been published notwithstanding the positive character of the sources in the archives of Paris and London, particularly in the former.<sup>66</sup> That contemporaries recognized its full

<sup>61</sup> I am aware of the merit of Vandal's *Napoléon et Alexandre I.* and of the little work by Voienski in 1911 on *Les Causes de la Guerre de 1812*. But the former makes the economic question entirely secondary, and with the conclusions of the latter, I cannot agree.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. note 33 above.

<sup>63</sup> Levasseur, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières et de l'Industrie en France de 1789 à 1870* (2 vols., new ed., Paris, 1903) and *Histoire du Commerce de la France*, vol. II. (Paris, 1912).

<sup>64</sup> The editors of the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes* announce a bibliographical bulletin by Ch. Schmidt on this phase of the work in the near future.

<sup>65</sup> The sixth volume of Lanzac de Laborie's work on *Paris sous Napoléon* gives us under the title of *Le Monde des Affaires et du Travail* (Paris, 1910) a study of industry, commerce, and finance. He makes good use of Mollien's reports but slights the others, which are not only of exceptional value but are absolutely essential for an adequate study of the effect of Napoleon's system on France.

<sup>66</sup> Dr. Melvin has in hand as a companion study to his dissertation on "Napoleon's Navigation Policy", a presentation of the British scheme of attack on the Continental System.

significance is evident from the extent to which the subject figured in Parliament, the Privy Council, the Board of Trade, the admiralty courts, the Council of State, the Conseil du Commerce, and newspapers and pamphlets of the time.<sup>67</sup> After 1809 the maritime trade of the world had to be conducted under licenses, developed into a regular system by the two powerful belligerents. "It is a notorious fact", said the judge of the High Court of Admiralty in 1810, "that we are carrying on the trade of the whole world under simulated and disguised papers."<sup>68</sup> Admiral Sir James Saumarez, commanding the Baltic fleet, writes that his principal duty lay in the protection of the license trade. In view of this, and of the additional fact that Napoleon, as we have seen, developed a parallel system, is it not surprising that no effort at a history of the license trade has been made?

Closely associated with the trade by license, which pertains of course to commerce by sea, are the more or less thoroughly developed methods of evasion both by sea and land. Of all the chapters in the commercial history of this period, one of the most dramatic is that of the smuggling trade. Not only persons of high rank and position, but governments themselves engaged in this trade which brought with it such exceptionally high returns. Thus as an ally of Napoleon, Prussia was supposedly enforcing the Continental blockade against English goods, but that did not prevent her government from smuggling on a gigantic scale and with enormous profits.<sup>69</sup> Even if the account books of Hardenberg had not escaped the carefully planned scheme to destroy all records of the transactions, there is evidence enough, in reports to Napoleon and in the results of the investigation connected with the arrest of different agents, to prove conclusively that the Prussian government not only engaged extensively on its own account in the smuggling trade, but systematically furnished Prussian certificates of origin for the smuggled goods.

How British goods were brought into the Continent is too little known. Regular trade areas developed, with local or strategic points where all commerce of the region converged. For the North Sea, Heligoland was seized as an emporium for British goods; for the

<sup>67</sup> Cf. the remarkable work of 100 pages by Joseph Phillimore, *Reflections on the Nature and Extent of the License Trade* (London, 1811).

<sup>68</sup> Phillimore, p. 32, note; in the case of the *Eolus*, Aspater, the court giving judgment, August 8, 1810, said, "These disguises we ourselves are under the necessity of employing, with simulation and dissimulation". Phillimore, p. 33, note.

<sup>69</sup> Hoeniger, *Die Kontinentalsperre und ihre Einwirkungen auf Deutschland* (Berlin, 1905). Also Corr. Pol. Hamburg, vol. 121, fols. 413 ff., Ministère des Affaires Étrangères.



Baltic, Lübeck, Elbing, and Rügen; for the Mediterranean, Sicily and Malta served.<sup>70</sup> From these strategic points trade was projected into the enemy's country at opportune times and at unguarded spots, to be thence transported by the safest routes to the trade centres of the interior. If a particular route became dangerous, others had to be sought, and special agents, commercial scouts as it were, were constantly on the lookout for new possibilities. The report of one of these among the letters of the Board of Trade may not be without interest. It is by J. M. Johnson, writing from Palermo in August, 1812, at a time, it should be noted, when the Napoleonic system had about reached its breaking point, and reads in part:

In the last five years British trade and the trade in British wares and colonial products has been successively driven from Holland, from the Illyrian coast, and from the shores of the North and the Baltic Seas, the British merchant has been obliged to look out for some new channel by which his goods may be conveyed into the interior of the continent without being subject to the rapacity of the French commissioners or to the despotic influence of the so-called Continental System.<sup>71</sup>

Turkey alone remained open, Salonica and Scutari therefore deserving special attention.

They are [says Mr. Johnson] already frequented by merchants from the principal commercial towns in Germany and Switzerland, merchant vessels arrive at the former port in considerable numbers from Malta and from England direct. Six thousand horses are employed for conveying goods from thence to Bosnia and Sarai, and the trade is carried on in every respect with that activity and vigor which the circumstances of the time have imparted to commercial undertakings.

Austria, he points out, was the distributing centre for the goods from Turkey, and the government, especially the Emperor Francis, in spite of considerable timidity, encouraged it. There was, however, considerable risk connected with all the ventures *via* Austria because Austria was as much in Napoleon's power as Prussia was

<sup>70</sup> On Heligoland see Laughton, *The Naval Miscellany*, I. 375-379 (Navy Records Society, London, 1902). As evidence of the material for the history of one of these focal points, we have eleven volumes of correspondence and official records in regard to the activities at Heligoland during the period from its seizure in 1809 to 1817. Mr. Nicholas, writing on the seizure of the island, incidentally reveals British methods of trade. He says, June 14, 1808, "There is not a doubt, but British capital and industry added to the continental want of raw articles will enable the British manufacturer to maintain his superiority, the difficulty is therefore to furnish them a safe depot near the continent with a coast easy of access, surrounded by large rivers to which the voyage may be made in a tide. The continental manufacturer would then be obliged to turn the smuggler of the British, as they are in Austria and Brabant." C. O. Heligoland, vol. I., P. R. O.

<sup>71</sup> B.T., 1/70, U<sub>2</sub> 9, P. R. O.

in 1810 when the confiscation of vast quantities of British property in her ports occurred. It would be safer, therefore, to make Hungary the place of deposit. There the emperor could not proceed against British trade without the consent of the estates, and the British could establish warehouses safely at a distance of twenty miles from Vienna just inside of the Hungarian line. The Austrian government would connive at the illicit importations so long as Napoleon did not coerce her, and Vienna would continue the centre from which the greater part of Europe would be supplied. Goods *via* Turkey, Slavonia, and Hungary yielded a good profit in spite of transit charges. On the prices current at Vienna, which Mr. Johnson quotes, coffee and sugar yielded thirty-five to fifty per cent.; indigo, cochineal, bark, medicines in general, from one hundred to one hundred and thirty per cent.<sup>72</sup>

Other routes lying right in the enemies' country existed and are fully described by British and French agents in reports to their respective governments. The first leg of the voyage overland in the Elbe country is graphically pictured in a letter to the French Foreign Office written by Bourrienne.<sup>73</sup>

The Danes openly favor British trade and pay no attention to your Majesty's Decrees on the blockade of the British Isles. . . . The accumulation at Altona of so vast a quantity of goods, the difference in price, the proximity of the two cities, their population and the wretched condition into which the lack of employment and the stagnation of trade have cast the working men of Hamburg are so greatly in favor of the new kind of traffic [smuggling] that the dispositions of the customs are no longer sufficient to overcome it. . . . Hamburg is 200 toises from Altona. It has a population of 125,000; Altona nearly 30,000, and the closest intercourse exists between them. On Sundays it is estimated that 30,000 go and come through the gates. There is a difference of 12 sols (French) in the price of coffee per pound. The *colporteurs* are paid 4 sous a trip which is good pay, and many leave their shops and regular occupation to do it, not being themselves subject to confiscation.<sup>74</sup> It is easy for them to pass back and forth ten times a day.

The Director of the Customs assured him (Bourrienne) that 10,000 persons were engaged in the business of *colporteur*. Crowds assembled out of curiosity, and it was almost impossible to get through the gates. The customs officials, police, and the Senate had tried to stop the trade by arresting the carriers, but "60 pass while one or two are arrested".

<sup>72</sup> He also speaks of the fact that in the trade *via* Turkey the British were in the habit of selling to the Continental merchant, who then assumed the risks of transport.

<sup>73</sup> Letter of October 3, 1809. Corr. Pol. Hamburg, vol. 120, fols. 284-286, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères.

<sup>74</sup> A reference to the fact that the customs officials confiscated wagons, oxen, or horses of those caught in this trade.

When the measures to stop the traffic finally became sufficiently effective trade simply moved to the Baltic. The same agent reports: "Commerce is not easily discouraged. If one channel is closed to it, it seeks another. The more rare certain goods become, the dearer they become and the greater the profit to bring them in . . . . Ships excluded from the Weser and the Elbe double the cape, pass the Sound and come up the Treve."<sup>75</sup> From Mr. Harris, the American consul at St. Petersburg, we hear in 1810: "Almost all the north and a greater part of the south of Europe are still likely to receive their supplies from the shores of the Baltic".<sup>76</sup>

Switzerland, particularly Geneva, became at an early date a distributing centre for English and colonial wares. A decree of the Directory of December 7, 1797, rebukes the city for constantly affording an entrepôt for English merchandise, furthering its importation even into France.<sup>77</sup> The lake afforded excellent opportunities for smuggling, so gunboats or rather revenue cutters were installed, and under the empire the customs department appointed a secret police to spy upon its own agents. Many commission houses, says Chapuisat, were engaged in the business of transporting and delivering goods. They had business relations with all parts of Europe, especially with Frankfort, Leipzig, Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, the kingdom of Italy, etc.<sup>78</sup>

Opposed to the various systems of evasions were, of course, the enforcement measures, administrative or judicial, adopted by the belligerents. On the French side, we have the regulations of the police, and of the customs, the decisions and rulings of the prize courts, and, after June, 1810, the measures and proceedings of the Conseil du Commerce. On the British side, we have the advance agents and commission or banking houses, the provisions for convoy and the many schemes to break through the Continental closure at the different strategic points, together with the activity of the navy in seizing enemies and neutral commerce, and the work of the admiralty courts not only in adjudicating the cases but in interpreting the law.

For the student of the economic history of the United States, the subject is of vital interest and importance. The neutrals formed

<sup>75</sup> Letter of October 27, 1807. Corr. Pol. Hamburg, vol. 119, fol. 422, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères.

<sup>76</sup> Letters of Mr. Harris of September 13-25, 1810. Consular Letters, Russia, 1810-1830, State Department.

<sup>77</sup> On the contraband trade into France at a later date along the frontier of Geneva to Strassburg, see Report to the Minister of the Interior, Bern, June 2, 1811. Archives Nationales, F12, 535.

<sup>78</sup> Chapuisat, *Le Commerce et l'Industrie à Genève pendant la Domination Française, 1798-1813* (Geneva, 1908), pp. 203, 207, et passim.

an integral part of both the British and the Napoleonic systems, and the United States as the great neutral carrier of the period was most intimately associated therefore with the various aspects of the European conflict. Of the transfer of capital from commerce, made unprofitable by the acts of the belligerents or the measures of our own government, to infant industries, internal improvements, or frontier enterprises, all too little is known.<sup>79</sup> The stimulus given to American manufacturers by the scarcity and high cost of European wares, particularly British, is guessed but not satisfactorily understood.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> The emphasis upon the diplomatic side of American history in Henry Adams's *History of the United States of America during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison* (1889-1891) has often been pointed out. There is a great deal relating to commerce but it is incidental, as appears not only from the treatment itself but from the sources upon which it is based. We have for example a thorough exploitation of the French official correspondence, and of the letters, memoirs, etc., of the foreign office, but no use is made of the material of those of the department of the interior, of customs, or of the Conseil du Commerce. And yet it is precisely here that the real basis of Napoleon's policy toward America is to be found. Similarly the Diplomatic Correspondence at Washington is used, but not the Consular Letters. In McMaster's *History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1885-1913), vols. II. and III., the approach is much more from the standpoint of the economic historian and we have a suggestive, clear-sighted study of the period. It is not, however, based upon archival but entirely on printed sources. Then there is the very able account by Channing, *The Jeffersonian System, 1801-1811* (New York and London, 1906), the division in the Critical Essay on Authorities entitled "International Relations" deserving especial notice here.

<sup>80</sup> There is evidence on all sides in the contemporary records on this important factor connected with the beginnings of American industrialism. A few typical ones may be cited. Thus the *Aurora* of July 1, 1811, has the following suggestive message from Livingston: "The quantity of fine wool that has been imported, in consequence of the present state of things in Europe, and the number of merinos, cannot fail very shortly to establish our manufactories. No less than 100 weavers have arrived at New York in one ship from Ireland . . . and all were directly engaged in our cotton manufactories. I do not doubt that you will, ere long, find an advantage in turning a part of your tobacco plantations into sheep walks and thus be freed from that dependence upon Europe which the culture of tobacco must necessarily create."

The arrival of the Irish weavers here noted is typical of the immigration from Great Britain during the years of the depression caused by the Napoleonic wars. The records of the Board of Trade, the newspapers, etc., are replete with suggestive references to the subject. Thus in a despatch of January, 1812, to the Committee on Trade relative to the progress of American manufactures, Mr. Foster speaks of the arrival in America of workmen from the western part of England (B.T., 5/22, Minutes, October 13, 1812). A letter from the principal officer of customs at Liverpool speaks of "the Departure of Sundry persons employed in the cotton manufacture of the kingdom for America", and a minute of the board refers to a "report of Customs on application of Lucas and Company respecting the attempt made by agents of glass works in America to seduce the working glassmen of the country to emigrate" (B.T., 5/22, May 3, 1813). Yet in spite of the paramount importance of the subject, there exists, so far as I am aware, no serious study of it.

We need an investigation of the actual movement of trade during this period; for in America, as in Europe, the artificial restrictions forced commerce out of the old channels into new ones; it did not stop it. Commerce continued, though prohibited by law. Native manufactures were few; they were insufficient to satisfy the need of the merchant, the farmer, and the planter. British goods continued to come in, while American raw stuffs continued—under difficulties it is true—to go out. As in Europe, a new and novel trade was developed. We know something of the interesting smuggling *via* Lake Champlain to the Canadian frontier. Less is known of the picturesque Ox and Horse Marine, so dramatically described in the Federalist papers, the flagrantly open way in which large consignments of goods found their way from New England southward and westward on huge “wagon ships” that never suffered shipwreck, and rarely seizure and confiscation. A monograph on the actual movements of trade, of its origin, transportation across the Atlantic, mode of entry, distribution, and ultimate sale would be well worth while. What were the methods employed to get the goods in in spite of the Embargo and the Non-Intercourse acts? What evidence have we on the use of the Swedish and other flags; of Deer Island, Eastport, Amelia Island, St. Mary’s River, Pensacola, or Halifax, as strategic centres for a wholesale smuggling trade, or as convenient points where goods of British manufacture might be left in order that they might be drawn into the current of the coastwise commerce of the nation? Did Halifax, St. Kitts, etc., in the practical operation of the British trade system, become the Heligoland or the Malta of America?

We know that the lieutenant governor in his proclamation of June 23, 1808, opened certain ports of Nova Scotia to neutral ships,<sup>61</sup> and then wrote to the Secretary of State in August, that the measure had “had all the effect that could be expected from it”<sup>62</sup> for, as he said in a speech to the provincial legislature “the project [embargo] has totally failed”, means having been found to circumvent it.<sup>63</sup> Along with this we have in the complaint of the Halifax merchants, that “unless some steps are taken to prevent the smuggling trade from the United States we shall soon be without a customer for the principal part of the articles we deal in”.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Public Records of Nova Scotia (at Halifax), vol. 192, Minutes in Council, p. 257. As a basis for this see the interesting acts of 47 Geo. III. c. 38, and 49 Geo. III. c. 49.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 58, Despatches of the Governor of Nova Scotia to the Secretary of State, letter 29.

<sup>63</sup> *Nova Scotia Gazette*, November 29, 1808.

<sup>64</sup> Public Records of Nova Scotia, vol. 62, Original Despatches of the Secretary of State to the Lieutenant-Governors, 1807-1810, no. 11.

Equally valuable is the light thrown on the history of the commerce of the period by private papers, many of which are now becoming accessible. The material on commerce bulks large in the voluminous papers of Philadelphia's merchant prince of a century ago. The voyages of his "philosophers", as he fondly called his ships, afford concrete illustration of the effect of European conditions on commerce. Thus in the year of peace after Amiens in 1803, as a result of an unfortunate experience with the *Rousseau* and a cargo of Virginia tobacco, which proved very difficult to sell because of the heavy duties imposed by Napoleon on tobacco imported in foreign bottoms, Stephen Girard made arrangements to carry on his profitable tobacco trade under the French flag. Two ships were to be transferred to this trade, but the renewal of the war prevented it. The incident is of significance as an illustration not only of Napoleon's use of the peace to secure trade for France, and build up a French merchant marine, but also of the well-founded fear among British commercial interests of losing the carrying trade.

Practically every phase of the French and English commercial systems is illustrated in some one or other of the vicissitudes of Mr. Girard's "philosophers"; there is room for only one more. It is the case of the *Good Friends*, captured by a Norwegian privateer and carried to Farsund where she was condemned on a long list of frivolous charges—one, upon which great stress was laid, being based on the mistranslation of an item in her papers which gave her fast ballast of "pig iron" as "iron pikes". Appeal was taken from the decision and the ship was finally released after a twelve months' detention, by unloading to furnish ocular proof against the charge of carrying "iron pikes". Six months after her return to Philadelphia, in January of 1811, she sailed for Lisbon with a cargo of flour to be exchanged for bills on London, to which port she was to proceed to take in "such goods", say the instructions, "as will be delivered you by Mr. William Adgate". Rather vague instructions, but not so surprising when it is recalled that the Non-Intercourse Act still made intercourse with Great Britain illegal. The "goods delivered" to the captain by Mr. Adgate consisted of British cottons and woollen goods purchased for the incredibly small sum of £60,000 because of the distress in the manufacturing districts of England. Having taken in her cargo the *Good Friends* sailed for Amelia Island, Florida, to await the repeal of the Non-Intercourse Act, Mr. Girard writing to his supercargo that the cargo was of so great a value that he was willing, if necessary, to pay one thousand dollars per month in douceurs (hush money) to the Spanish officials



at Amelia Island to avoid payment of duties and unloading, in order to have the ship ready to proceed to Philadelphia at a moment's notice. The timely seizure of East Florida in March, by General Mathews, brought the vessel under the flag of the United States, and she cleared for Philadelphia, where, after considerable difficulties with the customs officials her cargo, was sold at a large profit.

Most of the ventures during the later years of the Continental System did not, however, turn out so well, and the experience of the *Good Friends* with the Norwegian officials is sufficient illustration of the effect of the conditions that drove American capital into new lines. Even with so stubborn and successful a trader as Mr. Girard, these influences told, and while still keeping up a moderate interest in his "philosophers", he turned his surplus capital into Lehigh County coal lands and the Second Bank of the United States. That other private, as well as public, papers afford ample evidence of the transfer of idle capital to manufactures and industry, is a commonplace to the student of American history; nevertheless much of importance on the beginnings of this new era in American history is still to be brought out by the exploitation of private papers, diplomatic and consular correspondence, customs records, newspapers, and other sources.

W. E. LINGELBACH.

## SOME ECONOMIC ORIGINS OF JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in the course of certain general reflections on the causes of party divisions, attributed the antagonism between Federalists and Republicans to divergences in theories of state. "Fear and distrust" of the people was the principle which dominated the former, while the latter rested their cause on "the cherishment of the people".<sup>1</sup> This explanation of that party antagonism was cordially received in nearly every quarter, particularly after the downfall of Federalism, and it is still accepted with a whole heart wherever the magic of Jefferson's name remains undiminished. In wide circles it is an approved axiom, possessing a validity not unlike that assigned by the mathematicians to the multiplication table.

It should be noted, however, that Jefferson himself, while apparently ascribing the origins of the two parties to differences over "the cherishment of the people", firmly believed that his opponents were deeply, grossly, and even corruptly interested in the first great measures of Congress over which the split occurred. Indeed, he put on record his conviction that not a single one of the great Federalist fiscal measures, which rent the country in twain, would have passed if it had not been for the fact that greedy Federalists in Congress put private interests above public service. Writing in the *Ans* on Hamilton's financial system, he said,

It had two objects. 1st, as a puzzle, to exclude popular understanding and inquiry. 2dly, as a machine for the corruption of the legislature; for he [Hamilton] avowed the opinion that man could be governed by one of two motives only, force or interest: force, he observed, in this country, was out of the question; and the interests therefore of the members must be laid hold of, to keep the legislature in unison with the Executive. And with grief and shame it must be acknowledged that his machine was not without effect. That even in this, the birth of our government, some members were found sordid enough to bend their duty to their interests, and to look after personal, rather than public good. . . . In the bill for funding and paying these [old securities], Hamilton made no difference between the original holders, and the fraudulent purchasers of this paper. Great and just repugnance arose at putting these two classes of creditors on the same footing, and great exertions were used to pay to the former the full value, and to the latter the price only which he had paid, with interest. But this would have prevented the game

<sup>1</sup> *Writings* (Ford ed.), X, 227, note.

which was to be played, and for which the minds of greedy members were already tutored and prepared.<sup>2</sup>

In fact, Jefferson believed that Hamilton's fiscal measures would never have been carried had it not been for "a corrupt squadron of stock jobbers" in Congress. On February 4, 1791, he wrote to George Mason:

What is said in our country of the fiscal arrangements now going on? I really fear their effect when I consider the present temper of the Southern states. Whether these measures be right or wrong abstractedly, more attention should be paid to the general opinion. . . . The only corrective of what is corrupt in our present form of government will be the augmentation of the numbers in the lower house, so as to get a more agricultural representation, which may put that interest above that of the stock-jobbers.<sup>3</sup>

A year later Jefferson became more specific. He declared that the great outlines of Hamilton's system had been carried "by the votes of the very persons who, having swallowed his bait, were laying themselves out to profit by his plans"; and he added that

had these persons withdrawn, as those interested in a question ever should, the vote of the disinterested majority was clearly the reverse of what they made it. These were no longer the votes then of the representatives of the people. . . and it was impossible to consider their decisions, which had nothing in view but to enrich themselves, as the measures of the fair majority, which ought always to be respected.<sup>4</sup>

It seems that as Jefferson watched the progress of Hamilton's measures in Congress, he became more and more convinced that the members who supported them represented their own personal interests rather than the mass of the voters—particularly, the agrarian interests. At all events, he took the trouble to compile a roll of the "paper men" in Congress in March, 1793, and this list he incorporated in the *Anas*. This list of stock-holders in the Bank

<sup>2</sup> Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), I, 160-161. Ford charges Jefferson with being mistaken in separating the funding and assumption acts and supposing the former to have been over before his arrival in New York. The fact is that Ford is himself in error although technically correct. Jefferson is correct in saying that the proposition to pay all holders at face value had been carried before his arrival. Madison's proposition to discriminate between original holders and speculators was defeated on February 22, 1790 (*Annals of Congress*, II, 1344), which was for practical purposes equivalent to saying that the debt would be funded at face value. That was settled when Jefferson arrived in March, 1790, although it is true the funding bill did not finally pass until August, 1790. The edition of the *Annals* referred to throughout this article is the one in which volume I. ends with page 1321, volume II. with page 2418.

<sup>3</sup> *Writings* (Ford ed.), V, 275.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 102-103. For this and several other references, I am indebted to Professor Max Farrand.

embraces the following men who were in the first Congress: Gilman, Gerry, Sedgwick, Ames, Goodhue, Trumbull, Wadsworth, Benson, Lawrence, Boudinot, Fitzsimons, Heister, Williamson, W. L. Smith, Sherman, Ellsworth, King, Robert Morris, W. S. Johnson, and Izard. After this enumeration of the paper men, Jefferson places a table showing the composition of Congress at that time:

	H.-Repr.	Senate
Stock-holders (Bank) .....	16	5
Other paper .....	3	2
	19	7
Suspected .....	2	4

It is not apparent how Jefferson secured this information, but it would seem from the foot-notes which he adds that he derived it from personal inquiry and through the inquiries of his friends. Whether he had access to the Treasury and Bank books through a clerk or a partizan is a matter for conjecture.<sup>5</sup>

Jefferson was not alone in characterizing the Federalist party in Congress as a group held together by private economic interests. All through Maclay's querulous sketches of the debates in the first Senate there runs a plaint that some of his colleagues were busily engrossed in augmenting their personal fortunes as the prices of securities mounted upward during the battle over the funding process. Maclay even went so far as to say that the whole funding scheme was simply a speculator's device. "Pay the debt", he declared, "or even put it in a train of payment, and you no longer furnish food for speculation. The great object is by funding, and so forth, to raise the certificates to par; thus the speculators, who now have them nearly all engrossed, will clear above three hundred per cent."<sup>6</sup> Maclay not only charged many of his colleagues with speculation, but denounced the whole funding process as a gambler's device. He reported rumors to the effect that Vining of Delaware was offered a thousand guineas for his vote in favor of the assumption of state debts; but he confessed that he does not know whether pecuniary influence was actually used although he was "certain that every other kind of management has been practiced and every tool at work that could be thought of".<sup>7</sup>

Madison also discovered the weight of personal interest in the Congress when he sought to bring about a discrimination between the original holders of public paper and the speculators and purchasers, and was defeated by a vote of thirteen to thirty-six. Writ-

<sup>5</sup> *Writings* (Ford ed.), I. 223.

<sup>6</sup> Maclay, *Journal of William Maclay* (1890), pp. 199-201.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

ing a year later to Jefferson, he described the subscriptions to the Bank as nothing but a scramble for public plunder and added that "of all the shameful circumstances of this business, it is among the greatest to see the members of the Legislature who were most active in pushing this job openly grasping its emoluments".<sup>8</sup>

It was not only Anti-Federalists who discovered the origin of the party antagonism in the conflict over the financial propositions of the new government. That profound student of politics and acute observer of public affairs, John Marshall, laconically stated that the first regular and systematic organization of the opposition party "originated" in the conflict over the fiscal measures of the Federalists.<sup>9</sup> And at another point, when speaking of the Bank bill, he says, "This measure made a deep impression on many members of the legislature; and contributed, not inconsiderably, to the complete organization of those distinct and visible parties, which, in their long and dubious conflict for power, have since shaken the United States to their centre."<sup>10</sup>

It would seem, therefore, that the first outward and visible signs of the Federalist-Republican antagonism should be sought in the votes of the first Congress on the fiscal measures advanced by Hamilton. If an examination of these votes and their geographical distribution shows no correspondence with the individual interests of the senators and representatives or with the economic interests of their respective constituents, we may accept the "cherishment-of-the-people" theory as to the origin of the two parties. If, on the other hand, we find in these votes a fairly definite correspondence with economic interests, we may seriously discount the traditional explanation of the first party antagonism, particularly when we remember that these votes were cast before the formal organization of the parties and before any formulation of principles occurred. *Im Anfang war die That*.

Obviously, however, it would be impossible within the limits of this article to solve the problem here presented,<sup>11</sup> but a beginning may be made with an examination of the vote on the assumption of the state debts and the security-holding interests in the first Congress. As everyone knows, it was the purpose of the Federalists to underwrite the new government by drawing to it all of the financial interests in the country, state as well as national; and the assumption of state debts was simply one part of the larger scheme.

<sup>8</sup> *Letters and other Writings* (Philadelphia, 1865), I, 538.

<sup>9</sup> *Life of Washington* (Philadelphia, 1832), II, 181.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 206-207.

<sup>11</sup> The larger problem will be considered in my forthcoming *Economic Interpretation of Jeffersonian Democracy*.

All security holders were to benefit from this arrangement, and of course state paper, after the funding into federal stocks, appreciated along with the latter.

In taking up here the vote on the assumption of state debts, we are considering no isolated phenomenon, but an integral part of the larger problem above stated. Jefferson was, therefore, speaking of assumption as well as the Bank and other measures when he wrote,

I confirmed him [Washington] in the fact of the great discontents to the South, that they were grounded on seeing that their judgments and interests were sacrificed to those of the Eastern states on every occn. and their belief that it was the effect of a corrupt squadron of voters in Congress at the command of the Treasury, and they see that if the votes of those members who had an interest distinct from and contrary to the general interest of their constts. had been withdrawn, as in decency and honesty they should have been, the laws would have been the reverse of what they are in all the great questions.<sup>12</sup>

From Jefferson's day to this, students of history have wondered how much credence should be given to the rumors of Maclay and the allegations of Jefferson and his partizans concerning the "paper men". Writers have given weight to them or discounted them according to their predilections, but no one seems to have taken the trouble to attempt a verification or refutation of them from the records of the Treasury Department, where, for nearly a hundred years, the books of the early fiscal administration have lain covered with accumulating dust.

As everyone knows, under the funding system set up by the new government, nearly all holders of old paper brought their securities to the Treasury or to the loan offices of their respective states to be transformed into new certificates of indebtedness. If the Treasury records at Washington were complete (unfortunately they are not) it would be possible to discover the names of all those who funded public securities under the law of August 4, 1790, except perhaps those represented by attorneys.

The incompleteness of the records makes it impossible, however, to discover positively what members of Congress did *not* have securities; but the mass of materials which remains enables us to find a large number who did hold public paper at the time of the funding of the debt. The exact number cannot be ascertained; but the evidence concerning those who did hold securities is indisputable, unless we are to assume that the members of Congress who appear on the ledgers were attorneys for other parties.

<sup>12</sup> *Writings* (Ford ed.), I. 215.



The method of search by which the data below were secured was as follows. The names of all the senators and representatives of the first Congress were taken in alphabetical order and a search for each name was made among all the old books in the Treasury Department. When the search was finished, the names of all security holders were starred. *Not until this was done was an inquiry made into the way in which the several members voted on Hamilton's fiscal measures.* Thus an attempt was made to eliminate all bias which might have led to oversights in particular cases. When a member of Congress is put down as *not* holding securities, it is to be understood, therefore, that this may be an error due to the incompleteness of the records or to an oversight by the present writer.

That the percentage of error is not high, however, seems to be probable, in view of the geographical distribution of the members not holding securities. They appear principally from the South, where, it can be shown from the Treasury Books, the amount of public securities in the hands of residents was far smaller than in the Northern and Eastern states.

The amount held by each member who appears on the books is not set down here and the assumption is not made that all security holders in Congress were at the same time speculators. A number of them, particularly the senators, were vigorous speculators, but that is not the point. The question at issue is the number of members of Congress who were "disinterested" parties in the contest over the fiscal measures of the new government and the nature of their "constituency pressures".

The proposition to assume the state debts was taken up in the House of Representatives in February, 1790, immediately after the defeat of Madison's scheme for discriminating between original holders and purchasers.<sup>13</sup> In March, it was carried in the committee of the whole house. Maclay thus records the event:

Officers of Government, clergy, citizens, (Order of) Cincinnati, and every person under the influence of the Treasury; Bland and Huger carried to the chamber of Representatives—the one lame, the other sick; Clymer stopped from going away, though he had leave, and at length they risked the question, and carried it, thirty-one votes to twenty-six. And all this after having tampered with the members since the 22d of last month (February), and this only in committee, with many doubts that some will fly off and great fears that the North Carolina members will be in before a bill can be matured or the report gone through.<sup>14</sup>

As Maclay predicted, the North Carolina members soon put in their appearance, and on April 12 the assumption plan was defeated in the House by a vote of thirty-one to twenty-nine. Maclay was

<sup>13</sup> *Annals of Congress*, II. 1355.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 209.

in great glee over the outcome of the struggle, and he recites how Fitzsimons "endeavored to rally the discomfited and disheartened heroes" and expressed the belief that reconsideration and adoption were not yet out of the question. At this, says the Pennsylvania senator, "the Secretary's group pricked up their ears and Speculation wiped the tear from either eye. Goddess of description, paint the gallery; here's the paper, find fancy quills, or crayons yourself."<sup>15</sup>

Those whose tears were wiped away set to work to bring over enough Southern representatives to carry the assumption measure, in spite of the gloomy outlook. The way in which the "innocent" Jefferson was undone by the "wily" Hamilton and unwittingly used to bring about the exchange of the capital for the assumption of state debts, on July 7, has often been told, and needs no retelling here.<sup>16</sup> Jefferson informs us that "two of the Potomac members (White and Lee, but White with a revulsion of stomach almost convulsive) agreed to change their votes and Hamilton undertook to carry the other point." Daniel Carroll, a large property holder in the region where the new capital was to be located, also considerably changed his vote. Thus the bargain whereby the capital was located on the Potomac and the debts of the states were assumed by the federal government was brought to a conclusion at a private dinner given by Jefferson. The funding bill with the assumption amendment was carried in the Senate on July 21, where the Treasury had its most dependable vote.<sup>17</sup> Three days later the motion of Jackson, of Georgia, to disagree with the Senate amendment, was defeated by a vote of thirty-two to twenty-nine.<sup>18</sup> It is this vote which is analyzed below.

The vote on the bill as passed by the Senate,<sup>19</sup> in its amended form, on July 21 was as follows:

Yeas: Langdon, New Hampshire	Nays: Wingate, New Hampshire
Strong and Dalton, Massachusetts	Foster and Stanton, Rhode Island
Ellsworth and Johnson, Connecticut	Bassett, Delaware
King and Schuyler, New York	Maclay, Pennsylvania
Paterson and Elmer, New Jersey	Henry, Maryland
Read, Delaware	Johnston and Hawkins, North Carolina
Morris, Pennsylvania	Lee and Walker, Virginia
Carroll, Maryland	Few and Gunn, Georgia [12]
Butler and Izard, South Carolina [14]	

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 237-238. The reporter of the debates over the public credit notes that "the galleries were unusually crowded" on January 28, 1790, and doubtless there was a crowd on April 12.

<sup>16</sup> *Writings* (Ford ed.), I. 161 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Annals of Congress*, I. 1055.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 1753.

<sup>19</sup> *Annals of Congress*, I. 1054-1055.

Of the fourteen senators who voted in favor of the funding bill, with the assumption amendment, on July 21, 1790, at least ten, Langdon, Strong, Ellsworth, Johnson, King, Schuyler, Read, Morris, Charles Carroll, and Izard, appear upon the Treasury records as holders of public securities at the time of the funding process.<sup>20</sup> To this list Pierce Butler doubtless should be added.<sup>21</sup> Those not found on the records are Dalton, of Massachusetts, and Elmer and Paterson, of New Jersey.<sup>22</sup>

Of the twelve who voted against the funding bill on July 21, 1790, at least five, Maclay, Bassett, Johnston, Few, and R. H. Lee, were holders of public debt, but the holdings of Maclay, Bassett, and Few were trivial in amount.<sup>23</sup> The names of seven senators who voted against funding, Wingate, Stanton, Foster, Henry, Hawkins, Walker, and Gunn, were not found on the Treasury records.

A table built upon this data would run as follows:

	Security holders	Non-holders
For the funding bill .....	11	3
Against the bill .....	5	7
Total, 26 .....	16	10

A study of the Treasury records shows that the senators who held securities and voted for the funding bill, were with one or two exceptions, among the large holders of public papers, and that the senators of the same class who voted against the bill (with the possible exception of Johnston of North Carolina) were among the minor holders.

Even a superficial examination of the vote in the Senate is interesting in view of the party divisions which soon ensued. The "Eastern" states were almost solid for the bill. New Hampshire was divided; but Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey were unanimous. The financial centres of Portsmouth, Boston, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston were correctly represented.

<sup>20</sup> For the holdings of Langdon, Strong, Ellsworth, King, Johnson, Schuyler, Read, Morris, and Carroll, see Beard, *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*, chap. V.; for Izard, see "Loan Office: S. C., 1790", p. 17.

<sup>21</sup> *Economic Interpretation*, p. 82. After the publication of this work I found Pierce Butler's name on the "Index to the Registered Debt", which I believe was the debt at the Treasury itself, the records of which are largely missing.

<sup>22</sup> The name of William Paterson appears on the New Jersey records for a small amount, but it is not possible to identify this security holder with the senator.

<sup>23</sup> For Few and Bassett, see *Economic Interpretation*, chap. V.; R. H. Lee, "Virginia: Index to Loans"; Maclay, "Loan Office: Penna., 1790-1791", pp. 117, 118; Johnston, "Loan Office: N. C., 1791-1797", pp. 1, 40.

Equally significant is the vote against the bill. Seven of the twelve votes in opposition came from Southern states. Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia were solid against it. These were the states (particularly Georgia and North Carolina) in which the debt had been so largely bought up by speculators.<sup>24</sup> Only one of the votes against the bill came from north of Pennsylvania: Wingate of New Hampshire refused to join his colleague, Langdon, in support of the measure.

The vote in the House of Representatives, on July 24, on the proposition to disagree with the Senate amendment to the funding bill providing for the assumption of state debts stood twenty-nine to thirty-two. A study of this vote in the light of the Treasury records is informing and it seems best to take members up *seriatim*, beginning with New Hampshire.

The delegation of *New Hampshire* was divided on assumption. Nicholas Gilman and Samuel Livermore were against it, and Foster (of Rockingham County) voted in favor of it. As measured by the interest disbursements in 1795,<sup>25</sup> New Hampshire stood tenth in the amount of federal securities held by her citizens, and there was a strong opposition to assumption in that commonwealth. Livermore, in voting against it, said that he would only approve the proposition in case it was agreed merely "to assume the balances found to be due to the creditor States, upon the final adjustment and liquidation of the accounts between the United States and the individual States".<sup>26</sup> Of the three New Hampshire representatives, one, Nicholas Gilman,<sup>27</sup> was found among the holders of public paper, and he voted against assumption.

The eight representatives of *Massachusetts* in the House voted solidly in favor of assumption. Of these, Ames, Gerry, Grout, Leonard, Partridge, and Sedgwick, at least six, appear as security holders on the loan office books of Massachusetts.<sup>28</sup> As measured by the interest disbursements of 1795, that state stood second in the amount of securities held by her citizens, and the weight of the state debt which was transferred to the federal government was so great that Massachusetts tax-payers, as well as security holders, felt a great relief when the burden was shifted. Mr. Sedgwick doubt-

<sup>24</sup> See below, p. 294-295.

<sup>25</sup> *An Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of the United States for the Year 1795*, p. 65.

<sup>26</sup> *Annals of Congress*, II. 1412.

<sup>27</sup> Beard, *Economic Interpretation*, p. 93.

<sup>28</sup> Consult indexes to the 6 per cent. deferred stock and the 3 per cent. stocks in Massachusetts collection in the Treasury Department; for Gerry, see *Economic Interpretation*, p. 95.

less expressed the sentiments of all his colleagues when he said, on February 24, that assumption "will terminate in the suppression of direct taxes; it will abolish invidious distinctions between States and their citizens; it will fix the value of State securities, and bring them into operation as a circulating medium".<sup>29</sup>

Connecticut cast her five votes solidly in favor of assumption. Of her five members in the House, at least four, Sherman, Sturges, Trumbull, and Wadsworth, appear among the holders of public securities on the loan office books of Connecticut.<sup>30</sup> That state, though reckoned among the smaller commonwealths, stood fifth in the amount of securities held by her citizens, as measured by the interest disbursements of 1795. Not only was the amount of the state debt considerable; but it was widely distributed among the various towns. This fact is proved by the records in the Treasury Department.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, Sherman confirms this, for during the debates in the House on March 1, he said:

The circulation of the revenue would be very agreeable to the greater proportion of the inhabitants; because the evidences of the State debts were generally in the hands of the original holders. He had made particular inquiry into this circumstance, and so far as it respected Connecticut, he was led to believe it was true of nineteen-twentieths. There were one hundred thousand dollars in specie in the hands of the original holders in the very town in which he lived. He believed very little besides the army debt had been transferred in that State; and even of the army debt, it was only that portion which fell into the hands of the soldiers.<sup>32</sup>

New York was evenly divided on assumption. Benson and Lawrence, who "ably represented the southern districts of New York",<sup>33</sup> voted in favor of the proposition, and to their votes was added the vote of an up-state representative, Peter Sylvester. Of the three, Lawrence was a security holder, and among the large operators in public stocks in New York.<sup>34</sup> He was also deeply interested in the first United States Bank and was on the first board of directors.<sup>35</sup> Jefferson records Benson in his list of paper men on hearsay<sup>36</sup> but an examination of the records in the Treasury Department failed to reveal his name. Sylvester does not seem to

<sup>29</sup> *Annals of Congress*, II, 1386.

<sup>30</sup> Consult Indexes to the Loan Office Books of Connecticut in the Treasury Department. For Sherman, see *Economic Interpretation*, p. 143.

<sup>31</sup> See map in *Economic Interpretation*, p. 265.

<sup>32</sup> *Annals of Congress*, II, 1440-1441.

<sup>33</sup> Hildreth, *History of the United States* (second series), I, 43.

<sup>34</sup> New York Loan Office Books in the Treasury Department, and *State Papers, Finance*, I, 165.

<sup>35</sup> *Dunlap's Daily Advertiser*, October 22, 1791.

<sup>36</sup> *Writings* (Ford ed.), I, 223, note 1.

have been interested in public paper on his own account. Of the three New York representatives who voted against assumption, two, Floyd and Hathorn, were not found among the security holders; but Van Rensselaer appears on the New York loan office records.<sup>37</sup>

*New Jersey* had four representatives in the House and all of them voted in favor of assumption. Of this group, at least three, Boudinot, Schureman, and Sinnickson, were security holders.<sup>38</sup> Boudinot seems to have been the spokesman of the New Jersey delegation, but he did not participate extensively in the debate on assumption. He was warmly moved by Madison's proposition to discriminate between original holders and speculators and pleaded with his fellow-members to come to the support of the public credit in the following passionate strain:

Humanity, as well as justice, makes this demand upon you; the complaints of ruined widows, and the cries of fatherless children, whose whole support has been placed in your hands, and melted away, have doubtless reached you. Rouse, therefore; strive who shall do most for his country; rekindle that flame of patriotism which, at the mention of disgrace and slavery, blazed throughout America, and animated all her citizens.<sup>39</sup>

The single vote of *Delaware* is recorded in favor of assumption; but Representative Vining does not seem to have been a security holder and citizens of that state held only a small amount of paper from the local loan office. Maclay records, as we have seen, among his rumors a statement to the effect that Senator Butler heard a man say that he would give Vining one thousand guineas for his vote on assumption, but such rumors, unsubstantiated by other evidence, deserve little or no credence.<sup>40</sup>

Three members of the House from *Pennsylvania*, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, and Henry Wynkoop, voted in favor of assumption, and the first two were among the largest speculators and operators in securities in Philadelphia.<sup>41</sup> Wynkoop was not found among the security holders, and he seems to have hesitated awhile before casting his vote with the Philadelphia members. Maclay records, April 1, 1790:

<sup>37</sup> "Loan Office: New York, Ledger" (no. 32), fol. 104.

<sup>38</sup> For Boudinot, see "Penna. Loan Office, 6% Stock, Ledger A", fol. 24 and Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), I. 223. For Schureman, "N. J. Loan Office, 3% Stock, Ledger C", fols. 84, 122; for Sinnickson, *ibid.*, fol. 91; Rebecca Cadwalader appears on *ibid.*, fols. 83, 127.

<sup>39</sup> *Annals of Congress*, I. 1176.

<sup>40</sup> The collection of the Delaware Loan Office in the Treasury is meagre indeed. Maclay, *Journal*, p. 209 (date of March 9, 1790).

<sup>41</sup> *Economic Interpretation*, pp. 83, 91.



I took an opportunity of speaking to Mr. Wynkoop. I was pointing out some inconveniences of the assumption. I found he seemed much embarrassed. Lawrence and Benson<sup>42</sup> had got him away from his usual seat to near where they commonly sat. He paused a little; got up rather hastily; said, "God bless you!" went out of the chamber, and actually took his wife and proceeded home to Philadelphia.<sup>43</sup>

He returned in time however to cast his vote with Benson and Lawrence for assumption.

Four Pennsylvania representatives voted against assumption, Hartley, Heister, Peter Muhlenberg, and Thomas Scott—the last being "from the settlements beyond the Alleghanies". Of this group, Daniel Heister appears to be the only security holder on the books.<sup>44</sup>

As we move southward we find the opposition to assumption and the funding system steadily increasing (if we except South Carolina, where the security operations were considerable, particularly among the Charleston Federalists). The Maryland delegation was seriously divided. Only two representatives from that state voted in favor of assumption when the test vote was taken on July 24—Daniel Carroll and George Gale, both of whom were security holders.<sup>45</sup> Carroll voted against assumption at first, but was induced to change his view during the negotiations over the location of the capital.<sup>46</sup> He was of the inner circle which traded assumption for the capital; he was somewhat interested in public paper; and he had the satisfaction of helping to engineer the laying out of the city of Washington in such a manner as to give an immense appreciation to the value of his farm lands in the vicinity.<sup>47</sup>

Of the four Maryland representatives who voted against assumption, Stone and William Smith appear among the security holders,<sup>48</sup> but Seney and Contee were not found.

The weight of the Virginia delegation in Congress was thrown against assumption from the beginning of the contest, and apparently the vote would have been solid against it at the end had it not been for the famous bargain whereby Alexander White and Richard Bland Lee changed their votes and bought the capital at the cost of assumption.<sup>49</sup> The "Index to the Virginia Loans", preserved

<sup>42</sup> See above, p. 291.

<sup>43</sup> *Journal*, p. 228.

<sup>44</sup> "Index to Pa. Loan Office Books, Loan of 1790".

<sup>45</sup> *Economic Interpretation*, p. 82; "Alphabet Dividend Book" in the Loan Office records of Maryland in the Treasury Department.

<sup>46</sup> Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), I. 164, note 1.

<sup>47</sup> H. Crew, *History of Washington*, p. 108.

<sup>48</sup> "Alphabet Dividend Book", as above cited.

<sup>49</sup> Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), I. 164. Theodorick Bland, of the Virginia delegation, is not recorded as voting.

in the Treasury Department shows only John Brown of Richmond among the security holders, and Brown was among the seven Virginia representatives who voted against assumption. The two members who at last gave their reluctant consent to the scheme do not seem to have been holders of public paper.

As measured by interest disbursements in 1795 Virginia, in proportion to her population, stood surprisingly low in the amount of securities held by her citizens. Massachusetts citizens received from the federal government in that year \$309,500 and Virginia citizens received only \$62,300. In fact, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina stood above Virginia in the list. The "Loan Office: Register of Subscriptions" (for 1791) now in the Treasury Department shows that of the total £500,307 15s. 10d. worth of Virginia certificates presented for funding only a small amount was in the hands of the original holders. The major portion had been bought up by brokers and speculators in Virginia towns and in Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, and other financial centres. Among the larger operators in Virginia paper were Thomas Willing (the partner and agent for Robert Morris and first president of the First United States Bank) and LeRoy and Bayard of New York City. This large folio volume would repay detailed examination by anyone attempting to penetrate into the origins of high finance in the United States.

The entire delegation from *North Carolina* in the House of Representatives voted against assumption. Maclay informs us that on March 26 the Pennsylvania group had induced Williamson and Ashe from North Carolina to change their minds,<sup>50</sup> but for some reason or another they reverted to their first view. Of the five members from that state on record against assumption, only one, Williamson, seems to be entered among the security holders.<sup>51</sup> It would appear that he was inclined to support assumption, but yielded to the great pressure of his constituents and colleagues.

North Carolina stood third from the bottom of the list in the amount of securities held by her citizens, as measured by the interest disbursements of 1795 (\$3,200). The books of the North Carolina loan office preserved in the Treasury Department explain how this result had been brought about. Speculators from Northern cities appear on nearly every page of the ledgers as purchasers of the certificates from original holders. Thus it happened that North Carolina paper was not only taken out of the hands of widely scattered holders, who might otherwise have given their weight to

<sup>50</sup> *Journal*, p. 224.

<sup>51</sup> *Economic Interpretation*, p. 146.

the funding system, but it was concentrated in the hands of brokers in cities in other states.<sup>52</sup>

In fact, it was the action of Northern brokers (particularly from New York city) in buying up the securities of North Carolina, as well as those of Georgia and South Carolina, which made many Southern opponents of assumption so bitter in their denunciation of Hamilton's proposals. Very early in the debate on the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Jackson, of Georgia, exclaimed with evident feeling:

Since this report has been read in this House, a spirit of havoc, speculation, and ruin, has arisen, and been cherished by people who had an access to the information the report contained, that would have made a Hastings blush to have been connected with, though long inured to preying on the vitals of his fellow men. Three vessels, sir, have sailed within a fortnight, from this port, freighted for speculation; they are intended to purchase up the State and other securities in the hands of the uninformed, though honest citizens of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. My soul rises indignant at the avaricious and immoral turpitude which so vile a conduct displays.<sup>53</sup>

One of the features of the federal Constitution which the North Carolina delegates to the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 had pointed out as an inducement to their fellow-citizens to ratify that instrument was the provision requiring the apportionment of land and capitation taxes which that state, whose wealth was in real property and slaves rather than personalty in general, had reason to fear. And this very danger of a direct tax, which the assumption process might involve, caused a leading representative from that commonwealth, Mr. Williamson, to speak of that matter in the House while the assumption was under discussion.

He observed that his fellow-citizens in North Carolina were not in general rich, few of them so provident as to lay up money; for this reason, while he was entrusted with their concerns, he should oppose every measure that looked towards direct taxation. He wished never to see the day, when to satisfy a land tax, or a capitation tax, a poor man's cow or horse might be taken from him, on which he depended for the support of helpless children. Let the State debts be once assumed and you must proceed, if your calculations are bad . . . and the impost and excise does not come up to your expectations, the national honor must be preserved . . . People would not readily be reconciled to the new creed, "that the debts lately paid are State debts, but all the debts not paid are National debts," especially as this discovery is made after

<sup>52</sup> See particularly the "Journal of Assumed Debt". Richard Platt, of New York, for example, had \$192,723.14 worth. Among the other speculators from that city were Thomas Randall, Pascal N. Smith, Gilbert Aspinwall, Edward Livingston, Leonard Cutting, William Duer, and Walter Livingston.

<sup>53</sup> *Annals of Congress*, I. 1132.

most of the certificates have changed their original holders, and have passed for a trifle into the hands of moneyed men. . . . One obvious benefit will arise from this sudden adoption [of assumption]. A few men who chanced to be near the seat of Government, and first possessed of the scheme, flew to Carolina, and there bought up securities at 3s. in the pound; those men will be liberally rewarded, while his [their] unfortunate fellow-citizens are left to pay a second tax for the same object, and to complain of the injustice of Government.<sup>54</sup>

South Carolina was divided on assumption. For it voted Burke, William Smith, and Tucker, all of whom appear on the records of the loan office of that state as holders of public paper.<sup>55</sup> Only Thomas Sumter voted against assumption, according to the *Annals of Congress*; the name of Huger, the other South Carolina member, does not appear there. A search in the Treasury records fails to reveal either Sumter or Huger among the holders of public paper. South Carolina stood third from the top of the list in the amount of federal debt held by her citizens, with only New York and Massachusetts ahead.

The Georgia representatives went solidly against assumption. Of the three members composing the delegation, Baldwin, Jackson, and Matthews, only the first appears to have been a holder of public paper. A part of Baldwin's holdings was in the state paper of Connecticut, and it seems that he also held some continental paper.<sup>56</sup>

The amount of public paper held in Georgia by original owners was almost negligible. Mr. Jackson, in one of his vehement speeches against assumption, declared,

I do not believe that there are twenty original holders in Georgia; the original holders received no interest, nor did they expect any; they parted with the certificates as they stood, without interest; the speculators now hold them, and contrary to the tenor of the certificates, the intention of the State, and the contract they made, they will be allowed interest.<sup>57</sup>

In the interest disbursements of 1795 Georgia received only \$6,800 as contrasted with \$367,600 for New York. The Treasury records of the Georgia loan office also show that Jackson's statement was fairly accurate.

<sup>54</sup> *Annals of Congress*, II. 1539 ff. Italics mine.

<sup>55</sup> For Burke, see Treasury Department, "Loan Office, S. C., 1791-1797", p. 266; for Smith, *ibid.*, p. 45 (\$11,910.70 worth); and for Tucker, *ibid.*, volume for 1790, p. 167. Jefferson wrote in the margin of the *Anas* (but struck it out later), "I do not know any member from South Carolina engaged in this infamous business, except William Smith, whom I think it a duty to name therefore, to relieve the others from the imputation." *Writings* (Ford ed.), I. 162, note.

<sup>56</sup> *Economic Interpretation*, p. 75.

<sup>57</sup> *Annals of Congress*, II. 1751.

A collective view of the data here presented yields the following table:<sup>58</sup>

States	Number of members in the House	For assumption	Against assumption	Security holders for assumption	Security-holders vs. assumption
New Hampshire.....	3	1	2		1
Massachusetts.....	8	8		6	
Connecticut.....	5	5		4	
New York.....	6	3	3	1	1
New Jersey.....	4	4		3	
Delaware.....	1	1			
Pennsylvania.....	8	3	4	2	1
Maryland.....	6	2	4	2	2
Virginia.....	10	2	7		1
North Carolina.....	5		5		1
South Carolina.....	5	3	1	3	
Georgia.....	3		3		1
	64	32	29	21	8

The temptation to draw too many conclusions from the data here presented and from the above table should be resisted. The one conclusion which is indisputable, however, is that almost one-half of the members of the first Congress were security holders. This may account partially for the defeat which overwhelmed Madison's proposal to discriminate between original holders and the speculative purchasers—thirty-six to thirteen.<sup>59</sup> This certainly justifies Jefferson's assertion that had those actually interested in the outcome of the funding process withdrawn from voting on Hamilton's proposals not a single one of them would have been carried.

But it should be observed that had the security holders abstained from voting on assumption, the decision of the matter would have been left to what Jefferson called "the agricultural representation", speaking for the taxpayers on whom the burden of taxation for the support of public credit principally fell. The great financial centres would have been left without any representation. Whether this would have been entrusting the delicate matter of public credit to purely "disinterested" representatives may be left to the imagination of the reader.

Finally, it should be noted that quite a number of security holders voted *against* assumption and contrary to their personal interest; and an examination of the vote with reference to the

<sup>58</sup> The Constitution made provision for 65 members of the House of Representatives. Sixty-one votes were cast on the assumption proposition. The four not recorded were Speaker Muhlenberg, Bland, of Virginia, Huger, of South Carolina, and the Rhode Island representative.

<sup>59</sup> *Annals of Congress*, II, 1344.

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geographical distribution of the public securities would seem to show beyond question that nearly all of the members, security holders and non-security holders alike, represented the dominant economic interests of their respective constituencies rather than their personal interests. In many instances there was, it is evident, a singular coincidence between public service, as the members conceived it, and private advantage; but the charge of mere corruption must fall to the ground. It was a clear case of a collision of economic interests: fluid capital versus agrarianism. The representation of one interest was as legitimate as the other, and there is no more ground for denouncing the members of Congress who held securities and voted to sustain the public credit than there is for denouncing the slave-owners who voted against the Quaker memorials against slavery on March 23, 1790.<sup>60</sup>

By way of conclusion, one is moved to conjecture what kind of government could have been established under the Constitution, if there had been excluded from voting on the great fiscal measures all "interested" representatives, and the decision of such momentous issues had been left to those highly etherealized persons who "cherished the people"—and nothing more.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

<sup>60</sup> *Annals of Congress*, II. 1523.



## DOCUMENTS

### *Journal of Jean Baptiste Truteau on the Upper Missouri, "Première Partie", June 7, 1794-March 26, 1795*

THE following document, important to the history of exploration of the Upper Missouri, was recently discovered by Mr. Roscoe R. Hill, in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, while engaged in the preparation of a descriptive list of the materials for United States history in the section of that archive called "Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba". It was found in *legajo* 187 of that section, in the form of a document of forty-seven pages, legal size, somewhat closely written, and somewhat damaged as to the first page.

The interest of the discovery lies largely in the fact that Part II. of the same document has long been known and that Part I. has been industriously sought for, even in the Archives of the Indies. Part II. is a faded manuscript of forty-four pages, preserved in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State, Washington ("Claiborne Correspondence", IV.). It extends from May 24 to July 20, 1795, two months during which the narrator sojourned in one of the villages of the Arikara, and is occupied with the narration of events there and with a description of that tribe. A translation of it was printed in 1912 in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, IV. 21-48, with a valuable introduction. The document no doubt came to the Department of State from President Jefferson, who possessed it before November 16, 1803, as is shown by his letter of that date to Meriwether Lewis (Jefferson MSS., Library of Congress), but how it came into Jefferson's hands is not known.

Nothing is at present known concerning any journal of the period from March 25 to May 24, in which we may presume that the second journey up the river from the Ponca to the Arikara was described, though the letter just cited bears evidence, in appended extracts, that Jefferson had more of Truteau's journal than is now at the Department of State. Mr. Frederick J. Teggart, in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1908, I. 190, cites a letter of Zenon Trudeau to Carondelet, July 15, 1795, with which the lieutenant-governor at St. Louis forwards to his superior "the continuation of Juan Bta Truteau's diary", and a letter of Carondelet mentioning it, December 10. This "continua-

tion", if ever found, will probably bridge the gap, since the document at the Department of State is called "Seconde Partie". The present installment seems (Houck, *Spanish Régime*, II. 176) to have been in the hands of Jacques Clamorgan and his company before July 8, 1795.

Of the doings of the expedition after July 20, 1795, no record is known. In January, 1796 (Houck, *ibid.*, II. 192), James Mackay supposed its conductor to be among the Arikara or Mandan. His engagement was for only three years.

Jean Baptiste Truteau, the author of the journal, was born in Montreal in 1748, and was a distant cousin of Don Zenon Trudeau, lieutenant-governor at St. Louis 1792-1799. He seems to have usually spelled his name Truteau, though in one of the two photographs of his signature in the hands of the editor the spelling seems to be Trudeau. Coming to St. Louis in 1774, he became the first schoolmaster of the village. In 1821 he was still teaching. He died in 1829. Details concerning his life may be seen in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, IV. 14-17.

The Commercial Company for the Discovery of the Nations of the Upper Missouri was organized at St. Louis in 1793 and 1794, the articles of association being dated May 12, 1794. Accounts of its history may be found in the article last mentioned and in that of Mr. Teggart referred to above. Wishing to put their first expedition under the command of an educated person, the associates of the company requested the schoolmaster to take charge of it. It was to proceed up the river as far as the Mandan villages, with merchandise to the amount of 20,000 pesos. The instructions given to Truteau by the heads of the company, dated June 30, 1794, are printed in Houck, *Spanish Régime*, II. 164-172. Paragraph 42 requires him to keep a daily record of all occurrences and observations, to send a copy each year to the director (Jacques Clamorgan), and to retain a duplicate. The result, in the instance before us, is a contribution, of considerable value, to our knowledge of the exploration of the Upper Missouri, and of its tribes in 1794-1795. For the existing state of knowledge, reference may be had to the lamented Dr. Thwaites's edition of the *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, to Perrin du Lac's *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes* (Paris, 1805), to chapter IX. of Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1902), and to the writings already mentioned.

Schoolmaster though he was, and better educated than most such explorers in that region and period, Truteau leaves something to be desired in the matter of spelling and accents, and much in that of punctuation. Punctuation-marks, indeed, figure little in the manu-

script, are seldom used to indicate the end of the sentence, almost constantly so used as to conceal it. Since the construction intended by the author is usually discoverable, and the editor is not disposed to hold sacred a punctuation that merely obscures the sense, he has inserted stops where they were needed, and has otherwise altered the strange punctuation of the author when it seemed strictly necessary so to do. He has separated words which the writer ran together, and has modernized the use of *i* and *j*. Even so, the peculiarities of the author's practice will still, it is to be feared, make hard reading of his text; his indifference as to *-ant* and *-ent*, his habit of using *-er*, *-ez*, *-es*, *-ees*, to indicate the same (vowel) sound, regardless of grammar, call for a special warning to the reader.

Cordial thanks are tendered to Hon. Walter B. Douglas of the Missouri Historical Society, Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, and Mr. Frederick J. Teggart of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, all expertly acquainted with the subject-matter, who have been so kind as to look over the text and the editor's annotations and to make valuable additions to the latter.

CETTE premiere partie de mon journal [vous inf]ormera avec verité de tout ce qui mest arrivés depuis mon de[part] des illinois jusqu'a celui des poncas pour me rendre aux nations p[lu]s haute. j'y ai marqué ma route avec exactitude, la quantite de rivières remarquables depuis lembouchure du missouri jusqu'a la nation ricaras et leur distance. au lieu dy voire un commencem[ent] heureux et favorable a votre entreprise, vous n'y trouverez que des dese[nchant]ement et des circonstances au detrimement de la compagnie.

la perte d'une partie de vos marchandises par la main des poncas, et des scioux, les [insult]es et les violances que j'ai essuyé de la part des chef [ma]has et poncas, la dépense excessive que j'ay été obligé de faire pour la nour[riture] de neuf hommes parmi une nation la plus dure de tout cette [riviere (?)] ap]portent un domage considerable au interest. j'ay joint a la fin de ce journal l'etat des [peleteries, ] et ustanciles que je vous envoie.

vous [aurez un (?)] jo]urnal escri[t incor]recteme[nt], et malpropre. accable [par les (?)] sauvages tout lhivers [q]ui se tiennent en foule, du matin [au soir (?)], dans notre cavane, je [ne puis (?)] ecrire que la nuit ou je n'[ ] s[ ]tte.

il [vous] sera fa[cile] de juger, messieur, [ ] project concertés, et [ ] et en surete des ordres et instructions du conduct donnees pour leur [ ] plus facile a dicter sur le [project] qu'a exécuter.

*Journal de l'agen de la compagnie du haute missouri  
dans sa route pour se rendre chez la nation mendane.*

j'embarquai le septieme du mois de ju[in] mil sept cent quatre vingt

quatorse, a la ville de St Louis des illinois, dans une pirogue armée de huit hommes rameur, pour me rendre a la nation mendantte,<sup>1</sup> située sur le haut du missouri, y faire un établissement, propice pour le comerce des pelletteries, avec toutes les nations, que pourrois découvrir au [delà] de la nation poncas, chargé des interets de la compagnie du haut missouri, représenter par Mr clamorgan son directeur,<sup>2</sup> avec permission de monsieur don Zenon trudeau, lieutenant gouverneur des illinois.<sup>3</sup>

le huitième je suis arrivés a St Charles sur le missouri. quelques affaire nous y ont retardés le lendemain la journée entiere. le dixieme jai partis et ai campé a quelques lieux plus haut. le onze douse treise et quatorsieme, peu de route par les vents contraires et les pluyes.

le quinsieme du mois jai campé a la riviere de la gasconnade.<sup>4</sup>

le seize a cinq lieux plus haut. le dixsept a la riviere lours.<sup>5</sup> nous y avons étés arrêtés le dixhuit par la plui et le vent. le dixneuf, campé a quelques lieux plus haut que la riviere des grands osages.<sup>6</sup>

le eaux commencerent a montées avec rapidité. je ne ferais point mention icy de la route de chaque journée jusqu'a l'entrée de la riviere des cansas. jai si souvent été arrêté, par la force des eaux et les pluies continuelles, que le detail en seroit trop long.

je ne marquerai simplement que le nom des rivieres remarquables et leur distance depuis l'entrée du missourie jusqu'a l'entrée de la riviere des [can]sas.

on trou[ve] a trente lieux la riviere de la gasconnade, a quarante celle des grands osages, a vingt lieux plus haut se déclare la rivierre a la mine;<sup>7</sup> tous trois a la gauche en montant. on trouve a cinq lieux plus haut les

<sup>1</sup> The Mandan, to whom the first recorded visit of white men was that of the La Vérendryes in 1738, were at this time reduced to two villages on the Upper Missouri, a little below the Knife River, in what is now North Dakota. There they were visited in 1804 by Lewis and Clark.

<sup>2</sup> Jacques Clamorgan is said to have come to St. Louis from Guadeloupe (see the *Journal of André Michaux*, under date of December 11, 1795). His name first appears in the St. Louis archives in 1784. He was a man of some education, wrote good French, and was active, bold, and enterprising. In 1794 he was *sindico* of the Board of Trade of St. Louis, took a leading part in the organization of the Compagnie du Haut Missouri, and was made its director. As such he attempted, in conjunction with Andrew Todd, to control the trade of the Upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers, but was not successful. After the transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States, he was appointed one of the judges of the court of quarter sessions. He died about November 1, 1814, leaving a family of mulatto children. He had large grants of land from the Spanish government, which gave rise to much subsequent litigation. See *Reports U. S. Supreme Court*, 11 Otto 822.

<sup>3</sup> Lieutenant-colonel Don Zenon Trudeau, a distant cousin of the writer, born at New Orleans in 1748, was lieutenant-governor of the Spanish possessions on the Upper Mississippi from 1792 to July 28, 1799. He died in Louisiana about 1811.

<sup>4</sup> Gasconade River.

<sup>5</sup> Bear Creek. It has also borne, by corruption of the French name, Rivière de l'Ours, the designation Loose Creek; and there is now a post-office of that name in the county (Osage).

<sup>6</sup> Osage River. The name here given comes from the Great Osage, a division of the Osage tribe dwelling here.

<sup>7</sup> Mine or Lamine River.

deux rivières charatour,<sup>8</sup> et a neuf lieux de celle cy la grand rivierre.<sup>9</sup> a la droite du missouri a six lieu plus haut habitoient il y'a [quel]ques années les nations des missourie, et des petits osages. les [prem]iers ont presqu' entierremen étés detruits par les nations situées sur le missipy.<sup>10</sup> les deuxième se sont réfugiés sur le haut de la riviere des grands osages. a ving lieux plus haut a la gauche, on découvre une vaste prairie, nommée la prairie du feu, qui est estimée a cent lieux de l'embouchure du missouri. a dix lieux de la se décharge la riviere des cansas.<sup>11</sup> du même côté cette Rivierre, dans la saison du praintams, est navigable, jusqu'a plus de cent lieux de son embouchur. elle est abondante en castor, loutres, et autres bêtes fauves. a quatrevingt lieux de l'entrée, est situé le village des cansés;<sup>12</sup> bons chasseurs et bons guerriers.

a dix lieux plus haut sort [ ] la quelle habitant les panis republicains.<sup>13</sup>

je passai la riviere cansés le douzieme de juillette. le tresième j'ai campé a la petite riviere platte, cinq lieux plus haut a la droite du missouri.<sup>14</sup> le quatorze, campé au parc.<sup>15</sup> le quinze au premier village encien des cansés, a douze lieux de l'entrée de leur rivierre.<sup>16</sup>

le sieze, dix sept, et dix huitieme arrêté au même lieux par une grosse pluye, qui n'at cessé que le dixneuf au matin. je croyois perir cette fois par l'eau. je passai cette journée a faire secher nos peaux de couverture, deja bien endommagées par les pluyes et les chaleurs excessives que nous essayont.

je dirai en passant, que toutes personnes qui s'embarquent pour des longs voyages, dans la saison d'été, doivent de precautionner de bons prelats<sup>17</sup> pour couvrir leurs effets, et non pas des peaux de cerfe ou de beuf, qui malgré tout le soin possible et le temps que l'on perd a les faire secher, pourissent promptement dans les chaleurs de l'été et exposent le marchandises a estre endommagés par les injures du tems. ce a quoi Mr le directeur de la compagnie n'avoit pas bien pourvu, mayant fait partir avec de mechantes peaux a demy gatées et de vieux petits prelats déchires.

le vingt j'ai fait partis de ce lieu, et j'ai fait route la journé entierre. le vingt et un j'ai campé au deuxieme villages encien des cansés a Douze lieu du premiers.<sup>18</sup> les eaux montant tous les jours avec force, etant venues a demy ecorres, mes rameurs sont accablés de lassitude, etant

<sup>8</sup> Chariton.

<sup>9</sup> Grand River, on the north side of the Missouri.

<sup>10</sup> Early in the eighteenth century the village of the Missouri had been on the north bank of the river, some miles below the Grand River. Here, some years before this time, they had been almost annihilated by the Sauk and Foxes. The survivors crossed the Missouri and established their village near the present town of Malta Bend, Missouri; but before the date of this journal they had removed to the villages of their kinsmen the Oto, on the Platte River.

<sup>11</sup> Kansas River.

<sup>12</sup> Map no. 2 in the atlas to Dr. Thwaites's *Lewis and Clark*, a map probably nearly contemporary with our journal, shows the Kansas villages just below the junction of the Blue River with the Kansas.

<sup>13</sup> From the reference to the Republican Pawnee, it is to be presumed that the blank is to be filled with the name of the Republican River.

<sup>14</sup> The diarist refers to the Platte River of Missouri, but camped opposite to it, on the Kansas side of the Missouri.

<sup>15</sup> Isles des Parques, nearly opposite Leavenworth, Kansas.

<sup>16</sup> The first old village of the Kansas was a little above Kickapoo Island.

<sup>17</sup> Prélarts (tarpaulins).

<sup>18</sup> At what Lewis and Clark called Independence Creek.

contraint, du matin au soir, de ramée de toutes forces, sans aucun delai. le vingt deux, campé au grand détour.<sup>19</sup> le vingt trois, arrêté par le pluye. le vingt quatre, vingt cinq, et vingt six jai fait route. le vingt sept tems de pluye. le vingt huit, vingt neuf et trente en marche. le trente et un jai Découvert un campement de chasse d'été, le long du missouris, de la nation otocatas,<sup>20</sup> nouvellement abandonné.

je craignois fort de les Rencontrée sur ma route car il est certain qu'ils m'ouroit arrêté.

leur grand chef, nommé le sac de médecine, etant allé au illinois et n'étant pas encore de retour, ses gens m'auroient reténu jusqu'a son arrivée.

ce chef m'auroit absolument empêché daller plus loin car jai sçu depuis qu'a son retour il avoit envoyé des couriers au mahas<sup>21</sup> et ceux cy aux poncas, pour me faire poursuivre, les exhortant de ne point me laisser parvenir chés les nations du haut de missouri. les retardements que les pluys et la force des eaux m'ont occasionné dans la route, m'ont fait éviter de tomber entre leurs mains, car ils avoient passés les mois de juin et juillette sur les Bords du missouri.

le premier d'aoust, veulent laisser éloigné les sauvages, que je craignois de rencontrée, et mes gens ayant plusieurs rames de rompues, nous passames ce jour la au même endroit a faire de rames. le deux, trois et quatrieme du mois jai fait route. le cinq arrêté par la pluie. le sixème jai fait sécher nos peaux de couvertures. ce jour la le Sr jacques d'eglise<sup>22</sup> at arrivé a nous, venant des illinois. il mat remis le paroles de Mr le commandant des Illinois composées de quatre lettres pour deux chef des ricaras, un chef scioux et un chef chaquienne,<sup>23</sup> trois medailles, un

<sup>19</sup> Presumably the great bend at St. Joseph.

<sup>20</sup> Oto.

<sup>21</sup> Omaha.

<sup>22</sup> Jacques d'Eglise was the first person to reach the Mandan from St. Louis by way of the Missouri. In August, 1790, he obtained a permit from Manuel Perez, the lieutenant-governor at St. Louis, to go hunting on the Missouri. The trade with all the known Indians having been prohibited, Eglise made his way to the upper part of the river, where he encountered the Mandan. He returned to St. Louis in October, 1792, and the following year set out on a second voyage, taking with him, probably as partner, Joseph Garreau (see *post*, note 46). The trip was not a success, as the Arikara would not allow him to proceed further up the river. Garreau, whose "espíritu turbulento y livertino" did much to ruin the enterprise, preferred to remain among the Indians rather than face his creditors in St. Louis. Clamorgan's instructions to Truteau of June 30, 1794 (Houck, *Spanish Régime*, II, 168, 169), refer to the two as having injured the "Mahas" in passing their village in 1793, and enjoin Truteau to stop them from trading if he finds them among the Mandan. In the second part of the journal, Truteau mentions the departure of Eglise from the village of the Arikara, for St. Louis, on May 24, 1795 (*Missouri Historical Society Collections*, IV, 21, 27, 28). In July of that year, after Carondelet had offered a reward of \$3,000 to the first person who should reach the Pacific overland, Zenon Trudeau speaks of Eglise as about to leave in a few days, "full of spirit and ambition", with the intention of crossing the Rocky Mountains to the sea. Under the name Santiago d'Eglise he is spoken of in 1804 as still occupied with trading on the Upper Missouri. In official Spanish documents his name is also found in the forms Santiago de la Iglesia and Jacobo L'Iglise.

<sup>23</sup> Arikara, Sioux, Cheyenne. The "commandant des Illinois" is the lieutenant-governor of St. Louis, Don Zenon Trudeau.



pavillon, quatre carottes<sup>24</sup> tabac, un baril de poudre, et les Balles pour joindre aux trois pavillons, et une medaille dont jetois deja chargé.

il ma remis aussi le lettres et les nouvelle instructions que Mes. les directeur de la compagnie m'envoyoit, dans les quelles il m'etoit enjoint de remettre au Sr quénneville,<sup>25</sup> a l'entrée de la rivierre des cansás, les vingt six fusil de traite dont jetois chargé. je ne pouvois le faire, étant Eloigne de pres de cent lieux de lui. je les ai offert au Sr jean muniers<sup>26</sup> ainsi qu'il m'etoit mended; il n'en a point voulu. je proposai au Sr jacques d'eglises de faire Route de compagnie. il me repondit que la saison etant avancée il ne pouvoit souffrir aucun retardement sans se faire un grand tort; qu'il setoit munis de quatres hommes, luy cinquième, petite voiture peu chargée, pour se rendre promptement dans les endroits de chasse aux castors; qu'étant pourvus de bons prélatz pour couvertures, il pouvoit marcher tems de pluyes, ce que je ne pouvois faire, qu'avec sa petite pirogue il passeroit facilement et même de nuit les villages, et les mauvais passages qui sont sur la route, qu'enfin il m'etoit impossible de pouvoir la suivre et a lui de mattendre, que lors qu'ils seroit arrivé au villages des ricaras, ou il sattendoit bien destre retenü jusqu'a mon arrivée, il enverroit des français et des sauvages, avec des vivres, au devant de moy. le lendemain septième du mois nous fimes route ensemble. il retardat sa marche ce jour [la] pour moy. je vis bien, par la legereté de sa voiture, pouvent éviter les grands detours que jetois obligé de pratiquer, que je ne pourroit le suivre. je le priai sur les trois heure après my d'arreter meditant les moyens que pourrais sauver mes fusil des mai[n]s soit des autos,<sup>27</sup> mahas, ou poncas. le mois d'aoust est le mois ordinaire [où] ces nations reviennent a leur villages après la chasse déteé.

je doutois fort que je pusse les passée avant leur retour. ainsi la prise des fusils soit par les uns soit par les autres étoit inevitable. le Sr jacques d'eglise avoit beaucoup plus d'esperence que moi de les éviter. je le consultait a ce sujet. je luy demandai sil vouloit les embarqués jusques aux ricaras dans sa voitures, qu'il me les remettrai a la premiere entrevue. le Sr jacques d'eglise me dit, que pour rendre service a la compagnie il les prendroit volontiers, mais sans encourir aucun risque; qui[l] les porteroit au vilages des ricaras et plus haut sil étoit nécessaire, sans exiger aucuns payement pour son port et service; que sil les rendoit heureusement quil les vendroit pour le compte de la compagnie; cancas

<sup>24</sup> "Tobacco . . . in Upper Louisiana . . . is cured and made into carrots for the Indian trade, and in this way it becomes an article of commerce." Amos Stoddard, *Sketches Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 1812), p. 227. Carottes of tobacco are still made by the French of Missouri and Louisiana. The leaves, after the large stem has been removed, are laid together lengthwise and compressed; then the bundle is covered with a cloth and tightly wrapped from end to end with a cord, making the tobacco into an almost solid mass from twelve to eighteen inches long and tapering almost to a point at each end.

<sup>25</sup> Quenneville is a well-known Canadian family, but the person here indicated has not been identified.

<sup>26</sup> Jean Baptiste Monier (or Juan Meunier) of St. Louis, son of Joseph Monier and Marie Anne Prevost of Verchères in Canada, came to St. Louis in 1789 or earlier. He was a trader who in 1789 discovered the Ponca tribe, four hundred leagues up the river from St. Louis. Carondelet granted him the exclusive trade of that tribe for the term of four years, beginning in January, 1794. Houck, *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, II. 1-3.

<sup>27</sup> Oto.

[qu'en cas] que je ne pus me rendre cette automne soit aux ricaras ou aux mandanes, et quil m'en remettron le produit a la premiere vüe, mayant dit que les fusils n'étoient pas de grand valeur, cher [chez] les nations du haut du missouri. je luy ai recommandé de ne pas les vendre a moins de dix grand castors, ou loutres; ce qu'il m'at promis.

ainsi, messieurs, j'ai crû bien faire par toutes les raisons que j'ay citée plus haut, de déposer ces fusils entre les mains dun hommes dont vous avés vous même reconnu le merite.

le huitième jour d aoust nous avons fait route. j'ai été campé a l'entrée de la riviere platte. le Sr jacques d'eglise nous a laissé, je ne lai plus revû.

la riviere platte se décharge dans le missouris a deux cent lieux des illinois. de la rivierre des cansés a cette rivierre on en trouve trois autres qui ne sont navigables que le printems, a la fonte des nieges, et peu loin de leur embouchure.

la premiere, nommé le grand nimahas,<sup>28</sup> se trouve a cinquante lieux plus haut que la riverre des cansés; a dix lieux de celle cy le petit nima-has; toutes deux, a la gauche en montant. a quinze lieux plus haut a la droite, se décharge une rivierre nommé nichenanbatonnois.<sup>29</sup>

la riverre platte se decharge dans le [Missouri (?)] a la gauche en montans; est fort large, peu profond. elle coule avec rapidité; son fond est rempli des sables roul[a]nts; elle n'est navigable qu'avec des forts petits canots de chasse.

a douse lieux de son embouchur, habite la nation des otactatas, bons guerriers et bons chasseurs. a vingt cinq lieux plus haut est situé la village des grands panis, laches et peu chasseurs; a trente lieux de la, sur une rivierre que se décharge dans la rivierre platte, habitent les panis mahas;<sup>30</sup> bons guerries et non chasseurs. les traiteurs qui font le trocque des pelteries avec ces nations panis, sont obligé de faire transporter leur marchandises sur des chevaux depuis l'entrée de la rivierre jusqu'a leur village et de descendre les peltries, quil en retirent au printems, dans des canots de peaux de beuf jusqu'au missouris, ou ils ont ordinairement des pirogues de reserve.

les pelteries lon a d'eux en échange des marchandises sont des peaux de castor, de loutre, de loups, renards et chats, des robes et des peaux de vaches passés en quantité.

le neuf, dix, et onsième, j'ai fait route. le treise gros vent, peu de chemin. le quatorze, quinze et seize, en marche par un beau temps. le dix septième arreté par la pluie. le dix huit j'ai campé a la petite rivierre des sioux<sup>31</sup> a cinquante lieux plus haut que la rivierre platte. nous trouvons ici les eaux plus basses, et les courants moins fort. le dix neuf, en marche jusqu'a mydy; quelques orages, jointes au vent contraires, nous ont arrete de la journée. j'ai fait route le vingt et vingt et un. le vingt deux et vingt trois vent contraires, peu de chemin. le vingt quatre j'ai approché le village des mahas<sup>32</sup> avec précaution, craignant d'estre decouvert par quelq'un de cette nation; qui mauroit infailliblement empêché d'aller plus loin. la politique des sauvages de cette rivierre, est d'empêcher la communication entre nous et les nations du haut du missouri,

<sup>28</sup> Nemaha, in Nebraska.

<sup>29</sup> Nishnabotna, in Iowa.

<sup>30</sup> Oto, Grand Pawnee, Panimahas (or Pawnee Loups).

<sup>31</sup> The Little Sioux.

<sup>32</sup> The Omaha village stood near the present site of Dakota City, Nebraska.

les priv[a]nt des munitions de guerre, et autres secours qu'ils recevoient De nous si nous y parvenions facilement. ils tiennent ces peuples Eloignés dans une crainte continuelle de leur armes a feu.

de sorte, qu'il les tuent, les massacrent sans aucune cause, les rendent esclaves, les chassent de leur propre territoire, sans qu'ils osent a peine se deffendre, nayant que la fuitte pour ressource; tant ils craynent les nations qui sont munis d'armes a feu. avantage dont les premiers savent tres bien profiter, et conserve, en nous ferm[a]nt les chemins autant qu'il peuvent.

j'ai donc passé ce village au commencement de la nuit, j'ai campé environ deux lieux plus haut; l'obscurité m'enpechant Daller plus loin.

nous vîmes sur le rivage des deux cotés de la rivierre quantité de pistes d'hommes qui avoit traversés quelques jour auparavant. j'ay sçu depuis que cetoient des sacques<sup>33</sup> qui-y-étoient venu en parole.

le village des mahas, est situé dans une belle prairie a environ une lieux de distance du missouris et a deux cent quatre vingt lieux des illinois. depuis la riviere platte jusqu'a ce village les eaux du missouris coulant avec moind de rapidité, que dans le bas de cette rivierre. les detour sont longs et frequents, de sorte qu'un hommes de pied peut dans une journée faire le chemin, par terre, qu'une pirogue bien armée ne pourroit faire en quatre et cinq jours par eau.

il n'y a aucune rivierres considerables depuis la rivierre platte, jusqu'au villages des mahas. Le vingt cing jembarquai a l'aube du jour et je fus campé a la grand riviere des scioux<sup>34</sup> a la droite du missourie [s]ix lieux plus haut que le villages des mahas.

cette rivierre ne peut porter que des canots de chasse. nous avons trouvés cette journé la de forts courants, et plusieurs mauvais passages par les Battures coupées. le vingt six, tems de pluye, peu de chemin.

le vingt sept j'ai campé plus haut que le grand detour<sup>35</sup> estimé a douse lieux des mahas.

le vingt huit j'ai marche jusqu'a midy. la pluye nous at arreté le reste du jour; et a continué toute la nuit. le lendemain, vingt neuf, nous avons fait secher nos couvertures, une partie de la journée. le trente, trente et un d'aoust et le premiers de septembre en marche par un beau temps. le deuxieme, et le trois temps de pluye, peu de route; j'ay embarqué et campé trois fois la même journée. le quatre au matin notre chasseur, noel charron, tua un cerfe a l'entrée de la rivierre, a la droite du missourie, a jacques<sup>36</sup> que lon trouve a quarante cinq lieux plus haut que le village des mahas. cette rivierre n'est naviguable qu'avec des petits canots.

j'ai employé une partie de cette journée, a faire sécher au feu la viande de ce cerf qui ce seroit corrompue. précaution nécessaires, non seulement pour éviter la jeune. mais pour n'être point obligé de tirer du fusils dans les passages dangereux. depuis plus de dix lieux plus bas que village des mahas, nous [é]teignons soigneusement nos feux et jettons tous les matins nos bo[is] de berceaux de nuit au feu, prenant gran soin de ne point faire paroite de vestige le moins qu'il est possible. le quatre j'ai marché jusqu'a deux ou trois heures après midy. la pluye m'at obligé de

<sup>33</sup> Sauk.

<sup>34</sup> Big Sioux River.

<sup>35</sup> The great bend below Ponca, Nebraska.

<sup>36</sup> James or Dakota River, which enters the Missouri on its left bank in the ordinary sense, Truteau's right as he ascended.

camper a une isle nommé l'isle aux chicots,<sup>37</sup> a quatre lieux plus haut que la riviere a jacques. le sixième du mois jay été faire sécher nous couvertures a une autre isle nommé l'isle a bon'homme<sup>38</sup> a trois lieux de la premiere. le septieme jai marché la journée entiere. le huit, neuf, et dix peu de route par les vents contraires. le onsième jai embarqué de grand matin; notre chasseurs nous a tué cette journée la un cerf, qui nous at été d'un grand secours.

nayant pour toutes vivres qu'environ un minot et demi de maillis<sup>39</sup> et cinquante livres de farine pour neuf hommes, javois encore plus de cent lieux de chemin pour me rendre cher [chez] les ricaras, sans cesse arrêté par les mauvais temps. jay campé ce jour la a deux lieux plus bas que la rivierre qui court.<sup>40</sup> cette rivierre a la gauche De missouris est estimé a soixante et dix lieux du grand village des mahas, et ainsy éloignée de trois cent cinquante lieux de l'embouchure du missouri, selon le rapport des sauvages. elle est la plus abondante en castor et loutres de tout ce continent, mais elle roule ses eaux avec tant de force et de rapidité, que l'on ne peut, soit disant, y navigué, ni en montant ne en descendant. le villages des poncas est situé a une lieux plus haut, près du missourie. le commerce des pelteries avec cette nations seroit avantageux, s'il [si] les mahas, quoique leurs alliés, ni [n'y] portoient obstacle, empechant les traiteurs d'y parvenir l'automne, ne les souffrant que tres rarement y aller le printems faire la trocque des marchandises qui leur restent après en avoir tirés aux même la milleure partie.

ils ne menquent jamais de vouloir persuader aux françois que cest pour la conservation de leur butin et la seureté de leur vie qu'ils les retiennent, dis[ant] que ce peuple, appellé poncas, n'est point humanisé, quil ne pale [faillit(?) ] de piller, frappe, ou tuer ceux qui entrent ches lui [et] que par la grande amitié qu'ils portent aux françois, ils ne [vo]ulent pas qu'ils leur arrive du mal; discours faux qu'ils nous [ti]ennent. le veritable motif qui les fait agir est leur propre interest, car en privant cette nation d'un commerce dire[c]te avec nous ils en tirent toutes les belles pelteries, castor et loutre, pour des Bagatelles quil leur vendent bien chères et font aux mêmes la troque de ces mêmes pelteries soit avec nous, soit avec les nations situées sur le missipy pour de Belles marchandises, a tres bon compte.

la nuit du onsième au dousieme de septembre nous fûmes surpris d'une furieuse tempête de vant, grêle, et pluye qui nous a contraint de décharger notre voitures dans lobscurité de la nuit. le dousieme la pluye a continué la journée entiere. le treise le tems s'est éclaircy par un gros vent douest. jai fait sécher quelques marchandises qui avoient mouillés en les decharge[a]n de nuit. le quatorse jai fait route, en approchan le villages des poncas avec mefiance;<sup>41</sup> sur les trois a quatre heures après midy je me suis ca[c]hé derrierre une isle qui aboutit a leur village. jay embarque a lentrée de la nuit et jay marché le plus tard qu'il nous at été possibles. mais ayant tombe parmy des Battures plattes, nous avons passés la nuit sur une d'icelle sans feux. ce villages est tres difficile a passes sans estre

<sup>37</sup> Chicot Island (Isle of Stumps).

<sup>38</sup> Near the present site of Bonhomme, South Dakota.

<sup>39</sup> About three bushels of maize.

<sup>40</sup> The Rivière qui Court is the Niobrara, which enters the Missouri on the left as one ascends.

<sup>41</sup> "Three miles from the mouth of this river" (the Ponca), says Lewis, "the Poncars resided a few years since in a fortified village, but have now joined the Mahas and become a wandering people." Thwaites, VI. 47.

vû, car outre que ce ne sont que prairie de chaques côtés du missourie, ils selevent au près de leurs cabânes des côtés, du sommet desquelles ils peuvent decouvrir a trois et quatre lieux en haut et en bas de la rivierre.

le quinze jay partis de grand matin, et je suis venu campé a une endroit appellé la tourre<sup>42</sup> a six lieux du vilages des poncas.

le sixieme jours campé lisle abasque,<sup>43</sup> cinq lieux plus haut que la tourre. le dix sept, jay marché jusque vers midy. le vent d'ouest s'est elevé avec tant de force qu'il ne m'a plus été possible d'avancer. nos vivres diminuent, nous ne tuons rien dans le bas de missourie, les pluye et les montages d'eau nous ont beaucoup retardé icy. les vents fougueux, et fréquents par [la] proximité des prairie nous Retiennent.

je suis dans une crainte continuel de quelque evenements malheureux; soit par le manque de vivres, soit par la rencontre de quelques nations qui nous soient contraires. le dix huit, j'ai campé a lisle aux cedres,<sup>44</sup> a vingt lieux de la riviere qui court. le dixneuf arrêté un peu plus haut par le vent contraire. notre chasseur nous a tué ce jour la une Biche. le vingt peu de route par le vent contraires et les mauvaises battures.

le vingt un nous avons fait route. nous avons tué cette journée la un cerf et un chevreuil, qui nous ont donnés une petite abondance de vivres. le vingt deux j'ai campé deux lieux plus bas que la rivierre a la gauche du missourie Blanche,<sup>45</sup> estimé a quinze lieux plus haut que lisle aux cedres. dans cet espace de chemin on trouve quantitée disles bien fournies en bois et abondantes en bêtes fauves. le vingt trois, et vingt quatre, arrêté par un gros vent melée de plui. le vingt cinq en marche. le vingt six peu de route, tems de pluye. le vingt sept jay marché la journée entierre. nous avons aperçus des fumées qui se levoient sur les bords du missourie plus haut que nous. mes gens opinoient que cetoit les fra[n]çais et les ricaras qui venoient au devant nous qui mettoit ces feux et qu'il seroit apropos de leur repondre, ce que bien apropos je nai pas voulu faire.

le vingt neuf arrêté par le vent contraires. un des mes gens étant allé a la chasse me rapporta qu'il avoit vû la piste d'un homme passé de la veille.

je fus moi meme a la decouverte. étant parvenu a lendroit ou les feux avoient été allumes, je trouvai le chemin d'une bande de scioux qui marchoit devant nous. elle m'a paru estre au nomble de dix a douze cabane. jay été fort contents qu'ils ne nous eussent pas decouvert. le trente jai embarqué, et ayant traversé sur lautre rive jay arrêté a trois lieux plus haut pour donner le temps a ses [ces] sauvage de seloigner.

les vivres manquoient absolument; depuis la riviere Blanche, nous ne trouvions rien a tuer, les scioux y ayant passés nouvellement. cette bande qui marchoit devant nous me metoit dans une embarras extrême. je craignois, avec juste raison, de tomber entre leur mains. jetois informé du mauvais traitement qu'ils avoit reçus ches les ricaras, par les nommés lauson, et garaut,<sup>46</sup> qui les avoit fusilles. je sai, que la plus grande satis-

<sup>42</sup> The Tower, a conspicuous landmark.

<sup>43</sup> The Isle aux Basques is shown, as near Wheeler, South Dakota, on the map in Perrin du Lac, *Voyage dans les deux Louisianes* (Paris, 1805).

<sup>44</sup> Cedar Island.

<sup>45</sup> White River.

<sup>46</sup> The second was presumably Joseph Garreau, whom Lewis refers to as "Mr. Garrow, a Frenchman, who has lived many years with the Ricares and Mandans"; Thwaites, I. 272. Lewis and Clark used him as an interpreter. Truteau speaks ill of him in part II.; *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, IV. 26.

faction des sauvages est la vengeance. je craignois d'en estre la victime et malgré toute ma mefiance, et mes précaution, je n'ai p[u]s éviter de l'être en partie, peu sen est fallu tout a fait.

me croyant peu Eloigné du village des ricaras, selon les indices que les Srs quenneville, et jacques d'église m'avoient donnée, je [me] déterminai d'envoyé deux hommes par terre ches cette nat[ion] tant pour quérir des vivres, que pour les inviter de venir [a]u devant de moi, pour me garantir des insultes des scïoux.

les nommés pierre Berget et josept la deroute,<sup>47</sup> que j'envoyois aux ricaras, s'étant munis de souliers et de quelque galettes pour leur voyage, se levoient pour partir lorsque nous entendim[e]s crier sur l'autre rive du missouris.

j'apperçus plusieurs sauvage qui descendoient les côtes vis-avis de nous, crièrent en langue sciouse qui nos étions, d'ou nous venions, et ou nous allions. je repondis, en la même langue, qu'il voyoient bien que nous étions des français.

ils le crièrent aussitot a quantité d'autres, qui arrivent sur le rivage de distance en distance.

dans cette occasion mon embaras n'étoit pas petite. la fuite étoit dangereuse et difficile dans ce lieu, les battures spacieuse dont le missouri est rempli, les eaux basses en cette saison, un chenail fort étroit qu'il falloit chercher, et qu'il se trouvoient positivement a l'endroit ou ses [ces] sauvages Etoient postés, m'empêchoient de le faire avec seurété. continuer route en montant, ils m'auroient rejoint Bien vite. m'enbusquer dans ce lieu pour leur résister par les armes, ce ne pouvoit estre que pour un tres petit moment. nous étions denués de vivres; et d'ailleurs, ils nous auroient assaillis par le nombre, et nous y auroient tous fait perir. dans cette extrémité, je réfléchî quelques moments sur le parti que je devois prendre. mes gens n'étoient pas peu déconcertés; il se rassuroient en peu sur la connaissance que j'ai de ces nations, dont je possède passablement la langue, ressource heureuse pour un voyageur dans les événements Dangereux.

je pris donc le parti de leur parler, mais [a]vant de les aborder je fis metre nos armes a feu en bon état; j'arborai sur le derriere de ma pirogue un pavillon; je fis tires deau coups d'espingolles, et mes gens firent une décharge de coups de fusil. pendant ces préparatifs, ils me crièrent sans cesse daller a eux. je ne voulus pas le faire, sans m'assures [au]paravant de quelle nations scioux ils étoient, s'il étoient en partis de guerre, ou de chasse, s'il y avoit quelque chef notable parmi eux. je leur fis ces demandes en leur langue. ils ne furent pas peu surpris de m'entendre parler de la sorte.

clui qui toujours porté la parole s'éleva. il me dit, qu'il étoit de la nations hantons<sup>48</sup> scioux qui habitent sur la rivierre des moins;<sup>49</sup> qu'il netoit point en guerre, mais a la chasse; que les femmes et les enfant ne traderoient pas arriver; que je pouvois venir a eux en seurété.

je lui repondis que j'avais peine a le croire, et qu'ils me trompoit

<sup>47</sup> Pierre Berger, second in command of the expedition, son of the late Pierre Berger and the late Thérèse Hebert, was married at St. Louis, on August 26, 1797, to Josette Mayer, *fille naturelle* of Jean Baptiste Mayer and Josette of the nation of the Maha; and Jean Baptiste Truteau was an officiating witness at the marriage. Berger was living in 1818. Joseph Laderoute has not been identified, though the name Laderoute was common in St. Louis at that time.

<sup>48</sup> Yankton.

<sup>49</sup> Des Moines.



alors. il leva les mains vers le soliel et les baissa vers la terre, les prenant tout deaux a temoins qu'il me disoit la verite. il cita de plus tous les chefs de sa nation par leurs noms, il rappellat plusieurs faits dont j'avois moi même connoissance dans le temps que je fréquentois ce peuple. il me nomma tous les français, tant enciens que nouveaux, qui les ont le plus fréquentés.

sans sçavoir qu'il me parloit, il me nomma du non [nom] que je portois chés eux autres fois. toutes ces citations justes me firent juger, qu'il pouvoit dire la verité. quant a son village, etant bien connu de cette nation sciouse appellees hantons, sauvages asses humanisés, j'avois lieu desoper que je m'en retirerois avec plus de facilitée qu'avec toute autre village scioux.

mais pour mieux encore m'assuré de la vérité, j'exigeai qu'il traversassent deux seulement sur une grande Batture qui nous separoient. ils ont traversés trois a la nége[?]. je fus au devant d'eux avec trois hommes armés. je les reconus pour tels qu'il setoient dits; et ils me reconnurent aussi. je les fis fumer, ce qu'ils firent de bonne grace. enfin ils me donnerent toutes les marqué et assurances qu'il ne m'arriveroit aucun mal.

nous les menâmes a notre pirogue ou je leur donnai a manger. nous vîmes alors arrivé sur l'autre rive, les femmes avec tous leur bagages, ce qui m'affirmat qu'ils [e]toient en village et non en guerres.

j'embarquai donc avec ces trois coquins sur ma voiture. je voulurent me faire descendre plus bas, ou ils avoient dessein de dresser leur loges. m'ayant point d'abri pour ma pirogue en cas de vent, je ne le voulus pas. je fis route en mo[n]tant pour gagnér une pointe de bois qui paroissoit plus haut. tout ces couquins suivent le long du rivage, telle qu'une bande de loups affamés que attendent un chevreuil a [son] débarquement pour le dévorer. avant d'arrivé a cette fatale point [ ] il se trouva un petit chenail, dont l'entrée n'étant pas asser profo[nd] pour passer notre pirogue, tous ces tigres se prirent après, et la trainerent auprès de leur campement. tous les discours flatte[ur]s, qu'ils m'avait tenus, ne m'avoient pas persuadé de leurs sincerité et honnétété. je connois trop bien les ruses et fourberies des sauvages, pour y ajouter aucun confiance. loccasion ou je me trouvois me forçoit de leur faire paroître de la joie de les avoir rencontré, quoique dans mon âme, j'en detestoï le moment.

Les ordres que Ms. les directeurs de la compagnie mont donnée<sup>50</sup> portent de faire alliance, donnas [donner] parole, ouvrir commerce avec toutes les nations que je decouvrirois au dessus de la nation poncas; je devois donc les chercher plustot que de les fuir. mais je proteste, que tout voyageurs qui entreprendront de parvenir chés les nations du haut du missourie feront tres bien deviter la rencontre de celle cy, tant pour la sureté de leurs effets que de leur vie même. on pourra en juger par ce qui m'arrive icy. me voila donc entre leur main, dans un chenail presque sec, sans pouvoir ni avancer, ni reculer. mes prétendus amis, de la rivierre des moins, m'avoient bien débités quelques verites; mais el m'avoient cachés qu'ils netoient que trois loges de leur nation et que cette Bande étoit toute composée de titons,<sup>51</sup> peuples feroce, peu humanisé, qui erre sans cesse pour vivre, rempli de moeurs et de coutumes barbares.

<sup>50</sup> See the instructions at length in Houck, *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, II, 164-172.

<sup>51</sup> Teton.

les vaste prairies qu'ils parcourrent au nord du missourie étant présentement dénuées de Bêtes fauves, ils sont obligés de venir faire la chasse de beuf et vaches sauvages sur les Bords du missouris, et même de traverses pour chasses sur la partie occidentale de cette rivière. ceux cy étoient maigres et décharnés. il ne vivoient que des racines, et de quelque peu deffollé [de folle] avoine,<sup>52</sup> qu'ils avoient recueillis au bords de certains maroits ou ils avoient passés.

voilà l'espèce d'hommes avec qui j'étoit tombé. ainsi je ne pouvois esperer d'en avoir aucun secours pour les nouritures. ils arriverent en grande nombre; et plante[re]nt leurs loges dans la pointe de bois, ils allumerent un grand [feu] près de notre voiture; et sy assemblerent tous. je débutai par leur distribuer quelques morceaux de tabac, avec grand soin de les faire fumer, ce que quelqu'un accepterent, et d'autres refuserent, ainsi que de me donner la main. jaugurai mal de ces refus; car chés tous les peuples sauvages, le calumet est le simbole de paix et damitié.

ils me demanderent ou jallois. je leur repondis que je montois aux ricaras; je ne pouvois le cachés, ils voyoient que j'étois chargé de marchandise de traite. il s'elevâ parmi eux de grands murmures a ce sujet. je n'épargnai rien pour adoucir les [es], prits de ces Bêtes ferocees par mes paroles.

je leur demandai sil n'y avoit pas quelques chefs notables dans leur hande; ils me dirent que non. je leur dis que leur pere le grand chef des espagnols m'envoyoit ches les nations ricaras; qu'étant informé de leurs miserre, ainsi que de celle des titons, il avoit pitié d'eux, et vouloit leurs procurer un coup de poudre et un couteau; qu'aussitot que je serois arrivé aux ris,<sup>53</sup> je ferois venir les chefs titans, pour écouter la parole de leur pere espagnol et fumer dans son calumet; qu'ils pouvoit estre assurés qu'ils trouveroient tout leurs Besoins au village des ricaras en échange des pelleteries qu'ils apporteroient.

ils me repondirent que les titons n'avoient point de chef plus grand les uns que les autres; que chaque homme étoit chef de sa cabanne; que nous autres françois, nous faisons tres mal de porter de la poudre et des Balles aux ricaras; que cette poudre serviroit a tuer le scioux; que les françois qui étoient déjà ches les Ricaras étoient de mauvais françois, palant toujours mal contre eux, et excitant les ris a les tuer, quand ils y alloient en parole et que nous en ferions de même. le reste de la journée se passa en quelque festin de mauvaise folle avoine, que les seuls hantons nous firent. ils me demanderent quelques coups de poudre et des balles pour aller a la chasse le lendemain, promettant de nous donner la viande. je leur en donnai; ils voulurent emprunter tous les fusils de mes gens, qui consentirent a leur en [pr]êter trois. je mopposai a leur en donner d'avantage. mes amis de la rivière des moins faisoient les demandes. je prévoyois que j'a[vo]is absolument besoin d'eux pour me tirer du mauvais par ou j'étois embarquer.

il étoit nécessaire de ne point les rebuter par des manières dures. la nuit étant venû, ils s'assemblerent tous autours de notre feu. mes gens se couchèrent dans la pirogue et firent bonne garde. je dressai une petite tante [tente] auprès du feu, afin diexaminer plus facilement leurs actions, et écouter leurs discours bons et mauvais. les hantons approuvoient toutes les paroles que je leur avois dit, disant que leurs chefs avoient été en différentes fois au pâys des françois; qu'ils avoient été bien reçus du grand chef des espagnols, le pere de toutes les nations

<sup>52</sup> Wild rice. See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, XIX. 189, note 65.

<sup>53</sup> Arikari (Arikara).

peaux rouges; que depuis cetemps ils avoient toujours étés dans labondance de marchandises si utiles a la vie; que les français parcouroient toute la terre; qu'il rendoient toutes les nations qui les recevoient bien heureuse et qu'au contraire, les peuples que les françois ne frequentoient pas, Etoit miserable, exposé a mourir de fin [faim] et a estre vincus par leur ennemis, fautes des armes defensives, que les hommes blancs seuls pouvoient leur procurés.

tous ces discours ne touchoient guères lesprit de ces baïtes feroces; ils voyoient une grande pirogue chargée de marchandises qu'il leur étoit facile d'envaler par le violence, ainsi ils persistoient dans leur mauvais santiments.

les hanctons les voyant obstinés a vouloir nous maltraiter leurs dirent qu'ils ne vouloient pas qu'ils me firent du mal a moy particuliere-ment; que j'avois longtems fréquenté leur nation; que j'étois leur allié et leur parent; que leur chefs et leur viellards leur feront reproche s'ils me turaient [tueraient] en leur présence; qu'il m'avoit promis, par le serment du soleil et de la terre pour me faire venir a eux qu'il ne m'arriveroit aucun mal; que j'avois fumé et mangé avec eux. la nuit se passa en de semblables contestations de part et dautres. le lendemain matin, ils se retirent. les hanctons seuls resterent avec nous. quelques uns feignirent d'aller a la chasse, et revinrent sans avoir rien tués. je m'apercevois bien que mes garants flechissoient. celui qui m'avoit toujours porter la parole, méanmenees [m'a amené] dans sa loge, ou il ma fit manges [manger]. il me d[it] que les titons étoient de mauvais gens; qu'il craignoit beaucoup pour moy et mes français; qu'ils étoient si peu de leur nation, qu'ils les croignoient euxmêmes. je l'encourageai a me donner la main dans cette occasion; il me promit qu'il feroit son possible, mais il me dit que les fra[n]çais souvroient les mauvais chemins par des présents; qu'il ny avoit que ce moyen-la d'adoucir les titons, qui avoient tous de mauvais coeur; qu'ils pensoit que je delibererais bien, cest a dire, qu'il ne falloit rien Espargné pour notre liberté. je lui dis que lorsque quelques principaux coquins qui etoient a la chasse seroient revenus, je leur parlerois définitivement. il me reconduit à la voiture et pour lors en attendant le retour des chasseurs, il appellerent tous les hommes jeunes et vieux, les femmes et les enfants de tout âge, et de tout sexe, Et m'obligerent de donner a chaque individus, couteaux petits et grands, aleines, peignes, vermillion et autre menuitées de toutes espèce. on peut juges que la depense ne fut pas petite. j'étois au désespoire d'une telle profusion. elle n'étoit cependant point à son dernies point; que faire dans une conjoncture si dangéreuse? que leur apposes pour deffense que de simples paroles dont ils faisoient peu de cas apprés cette distribution? ils apporterent quelques peaux de castors et de chevreuil et me demenderent a les trocques pour du drap, de la poudre, et les Bales. ils embarquerent sur la voiture en foule; mes gens avoient toute peine possible a garantir les vols; ils m'enleverent poudre, balle, drap, couverte blanche, hache, pioche vermillon, couteau, etc., sans me donner le temps de compter leur pelteries, encore moins de convenir du prix, quelque effort que je fis pour leur resister. ce fut un vrai pillage. mes sauvgarde, de la rivierre des moins, ne furent pas les moins partagé. lavidité du Butin ches tous les peuples barbares est la passion dominante. ceux cy oublierent dans ce moment leur serment et leur bienveillance pour moi.

après cet assaut ils se retirent, ne restant que quelque jeunes coquins qui nous faisoient enrager.

un d'entre eux m'appella dans sa cabane. pendant que j'étois absent

ils enleverent nos deux chaudières de service, et prirent deux fusils à mes gens.

je revins promptement à eux, je pestai, je priai, je suppliai; mais inutilement.

ils me dirent qu'un méchant viellard, soutenu par plusieurs garçons, ses enfants et autres parents, avoit fait faire ces actions et qu'il faisoit tous ses efforts pour me faire pillier.

mon embarras et ma peine étoit sans égale.

je jugeois bien que le plutôt que je pourrois m'eloigner d'eux seroit le mieux. quelque vieilles femmes m'avoient avertis qu'ils avoient envoyé des couriers avertir d'autres Bandes qui étoient aux environs, [a]fin qu'ils se rendissent promptement dans ce lieu.

s'ils arrivoient avant mon départ, c'en étoit fait du reste des marchandises. pour partir, il me falloit non seulement leur consentement, mais encore leur aide, pour sortir notre pirogue du maudit chenail, ou ils nous avoient traînées, presque à sec.

je préparai donc promptement et arrangeai sur la grève le présent que j'étois forcé de leur faire, qui consistait en sept à huit aunes de drap, un baril de poudre, les balles proportionnellement, quatre carottes de tabac, deux paquets de couteaux contenant deux douzaines chacun, quatre couvertes blanches, quatre pioches, quatre haches, deux sacs de vermillon, pierres à feu, tireboures, battefeux, etc. je fis venir les principaux. une partie y vint, plusieurs refusèrent, du nombre desquelles fut cet infernal viellard dont j'ai parlé.

j'entendis sur le sable le drap bleu, symbole d'un beau chemin que je leur demandois. je leur dis que je voulois partir ce jour même. je leur reit[r]ai la parole que le grand chef espagnol leur père m'avoit chargé de porter aux ricaras, aux chefs titons ses enfants, qu'il le falloit que je m'y rendisse absolument pour suivre sa volonté.

je les exhortai d'envoyer quelques jeunes gens avertir le grand chef de leur nation de mon arrivée chez les ricaras; que je les y attendois au printemps prochain, le plus tard; qu'ils vinssent à chasser aux castors, l'outres et autres peltries; que je leur Donnerois en échange leurs besoins; qu'ils pouvoient être assurés qu'ils seroient bien reçus de moi et des ricaras; que mon cœur n'étoit pas semblable à celui des français, dont ils plaignoient. j'en prenois les hantons qui me connoissoient bien, à témoin. ces derniers m'approuverent, mais ces démons de titons me répondirent les mêmes insolences que la veille et d'avantage me dirent qu'ils n'avoient point de père espagnol; qu'ils avoient envoyés des couriers à toutes les Bandes de sioux qui étoient en haut et en bas de la rivière les avertir qu'ils avoient trouvés une grande pirogue chargée de marchandises pour les ricaras; que j'étois insensé de vouloir aller chez cette nation qui s'étoit enfuie au milieu de l'été, ayant été attaqué par les sauvages du nord, avoit abandonnée ses cabanes sans s'être donnée le temps de récolter les maillies. croi tu, me disoient ils, Echappes des mains des sioux, qui Bordent le missouris des deux côtés, jusqu'au village des ricaras, et même plus haut? ils sont avertis, ils te quèteront, te pilleront, et peut être te tueront, toi et les gens, car, disoient ils, les titons n'ont point desprit. reste avec nous, construis une maison d'hivernement; tous les sioux viendront trafiquer avec toi beaucoup de peltries quant à la désertion des ricaras. je ne veux pas les croire, les voyageurs nouvellement revenus de cette nation m'ayant assuré qu'ils étoient fixés dans leur habitations, allant, alternativement, par bande à la chasse des bœufs sauvages, et connoissant les sauvages fertiles en ruses et en mensanges, je jugeai que ceux

cy avoient inventés cette nouvelle pour me détourné de la résolutions que jetois de my rendre.

Les hanctons, n'osant pas me dire leur pansée ouvertement, crainte de leurs déplaire, me faisoient signe de ne pas consentir a leurs demandes.

je n'avois garde de les accepter, aprés les mauvais traitements que j'en avois reçu, et qu'ils étoient encore prêts a recidivér. j'avois plus lieu de craindre l'arrivée de quelqu'autre Brigarde de cette maudite nation, qui m'auroit entierrement pillés, que de consentir a faire résidence avec eux. par qu'el moyen aurois je pû résister une hyvers entierre avec un peuple qui avoient luy même sa férocité, qui n'at aucun union, qui erre sans cesse par peloton, ne pouvant se rassembles dans un seul village sans se voler, se battre, se tuer, soit pour les femmes, soit pour la possession de quelques chevaux que les uns ont plus que les autres; peuples remplis de mauvais préjugés, attribuant ordinairement les accidents funestes, les maladies, les mortalités, aux marchandises ou aux nourritures qu'il recoivent de nous: gens avides du butin qu'il voyent sans jamais en vouloir payer la valeur; susrets [?] violents toujours prêts a frapper a la moindre contradiction qu'ils reçoivent, qui ne connoissent aucune subordination, et ne craignent aucun Etranger, qui violent sans scrupule, les paroles ou assurances de paix et d'aillances, qu'ils donnent, ou reçoivent de leurs voisins? quelle tyranie nauroient ils pas exercée contre des français que le hasard avoit mis entre leurs mains, et qu'ils sçavoient tres bien n'être pas destinés pour eux, mais pour leur ennemie? a quel excès la jalousie ne les auroit elle pas porté? les scioux insultés par les nommés garaut et lauson, n'auroient ils pas eux [eu] la plus belle occasion de s'en venges? ils nous auroient depouillés ne seulement de nos effets, mais encore de nos armes a feu; et nous auroient laisses perir par la fain, sil ne nous eussent pa[s] otés la vie eux mêmes.

je refusai donc firement ce qu'ils me proposoient. je leur [dis] que je voulois partir incontinent; qu'ils vissent apprendre ce que je leur donnais pour faire vivre leurs femmes et leur enfant. je les priaï de me faire rendre les deux fusils et deux chaudierras que leurs gens avoient pris, leur représentant que nous n'avions rien pour faire cuire notre manger. ils me repondirent que c'étoit impossible que je pouvois partir, puisque moi et mes gens nous cherchions la mort. ils se levèrent tous, et emporterent le present, de mauvaise grace, n'en trouvant pas asser.

nous fûmes pour lors quelques moments seuls. je ne pouvois sortir de ce lieu sans aide. déchargér ma pirogue pour l'alléger, c'étoit m'exposes derechef aux vol et au pillage. le temps me pressoit: je ne revoyois plus mes hommes, hanctons, ils m'avoient abandonnés. il survint dans ce moment quelques vielle femmes qui m'avoient connus sûr la riverre des moins, que me réitererent tous les mauvais desseins que les titons avoient eus et avoient encore contre nous; que leur hommes sy étoient opposés part aport [par rapport] a moy. elles massurerent qu'ils étoient cinq Bandes de cette nation qui marchaient devant nous de chaque côté du missourie: que vingt deux loges des mêmes devoient présentement estres sortis en bas aux environs de la rivierre Blanche. elles me conseilloyent de ne marchér que la nuit, me cacher le jour, dis[a]nt que sils nous voyoient nous étions perdus. je leur promis de le faire. mais je n'étois pas sortir de ce lieu, d'autres femmes rappelloient avec force et précipitation celle[s] cy et firent retires les enfant qui étoient auprés des nous. je préjugeai et non faussement qu'il se tramois quelque mauvais coup contre nous.

je montai promptement la côte, je marchai droite a la cabana de

celuy qui m'avoit le premiers donné la main sur la Batture, je luy demandai ce qui ce passoit.

il ne me repondit point. je luy reprochai de m'avoir abandonné, contre sa promesse. il me dit qu'il n'avoit pas le coeurs contant; que les titons avoient partagés entre eux le présent; que ny luy ni ses gens n'y avoit eû aucune part; que le viellard, dont jay déjà parlé, ni ses enfant n'avoient pas voulos se trouves au partage; enfin qu'il vouloient frapper sur nous.

je le pressai, en lui faisant promesse de le recompences, de venir avec ses gens m'aider a sortir de ce lieu.

les vielles femmes de sa loge m'aidant de leur part, il sortit et vint avec moy, accompagné de six autre de ses gens. a peine fûmes nous arrivés a la voiture, que nous entendimes un grand Bruit dans le camp sauvage; des pleurs, des cris de femmes qui crioient, ils vont tirer sur les français. elles paroissoient toutes sinterressér a notre conservation; c'étoit peutêtre en reconnoissance des couteaux, aleine, etc. que j'avois été forcé de leur distribuée la veille.

nous appercûmes plusieurs hommes, les armes a la main, qui couroient de la de la: dautres qui les poursuivoient pour sopposer a leur mauvais dessein. ceux qui m'accompagnoient, au nomble de six, me presserent de partir. je les priaï encore de nous aides a rendre notre pirogue a la grande eau. je leur promis de leur donnees a chaque une brasse de drap.<sup>54</sup> pour l'ors, ils nous aides [aidaient] a rendre notre voiture au grand chenail avec plus de céléritée qu'en y entrant, quoique nous fussion beaucoup plus de monde. tant les approches du peril donnent des forces et du courage pour sen éloigner. je leur tins parole en leur donnant ce que je leur avois promis.

je traversai aussitot sur l'autre rive. le soleil étoit pret a se coucher. je fis route En montant, toujours a la vûe de ces coquins, En méditant de quelle maniere je pourrois echapper des mains de ces tigres, et de leur semblables.

Dans cette Endroit, la rivierre forme un detour<sup>55</sup>—de la rivierre Blanche au grand détour vingt lieux, du grand détour au petit missourie vingt cinq lieux, du petit missourie au villages des Ricaras quinze lieux—de quatre a cinq lieux de long, de sorte que ces sauvages que nous sortions de quitter pouvoient en trois [ou] quatre heures par terre nous rejoindre. après une journée de route par eau, j'avois tout lieu de croire qu'ils me poursuiveroient le lendemain, dans la disposition ou je les avois laissé. j'e[to]is assuré qu'il y en avoit d'autres en haut et en bas de nous que je ne pouvois éviter, nous étant impossible de naviguer de nuit, dans une rivierre qui est si peu profonde en cette saison, que nous étions souvent obligés d'alleges notre voiture des plombs, et autres charges pesantes, faisant des petits portages a certains endroits. d'ailleurs selon les indices que les Sr jacques d'eglise et quénneville m'avoient donnés, et que je vois tracés sur une feuille de papier, de la quantité de rivierre[s] qui se dechargent dans le missourie depuis l'entrée de la rivierre platte, jusqu'au village des ricaras, et autres endroits remarquables, je jugeai que nous pouvions être a quarante lieux des ricaras.

c'étoit Bien facheux, après avoir fait tant de chemin, pour y parvenir de reculer; nous cacher, nous et nos effets, ce ne pouvoit être. les

<sup>54</sup> The brasse was a linear measure, usually 5.318 English feet. There are however evidences of its use in the eighteenth century for a shorter measure, about the length of the forearm.

<sup>55</sup> The great bend at the Crow Creek and Lower Brulé reservations.



sauvages que je craignois paroissent vouloir chasser tout l'automne dans ces lieux; de plus nous Etions sans aucunes vivres. la fain nous tourmentoit. il me restoit pour toutes provision environ trente livres de farine et un quart de minot<sup>56</sup> de maillis. c'etoit peu, pour neuf hommes affamés. dans cette extrémitée je ne trouvais d'autres pa[r]tis a prendre, que de mettre les marchandises qui nous restoient, et notre pirogue, en cache et de nous en aller tous par terre aux ricaras, que l'on m'avoit assurgée, residen en toute saison a leur village, me propos[a]nt de revenir avec une bonne escorte chercher la pirogue et les effects. j'exécutai cette resolution qui n'étoit pas toutes fois sans risque car les scioux pouvoient trouver notre cache et l'enlever. mais je doutois bien qu'ils ne traverseroient pas la rivierre en cette endroit; croyant que nous aurions fait route En montant toute la nuit et le lendemain, ils nous poursuivroient par l'autre bord du missouris, qui étoit sans doute le chemin le plus court et plus beau. car sur la partie occidentale a l'endroit ou je voulois faire cache, ils s'élevèrent des côtes et des rochers si escarpées que le chemin en est impraticables. nous marchâmes donc l'espace de deux lieux [le] long de ces cotes. nous arretâmes et fûmes a la recherche d'un endroit propice a notre dessein. la lune qui arrivoit a son plein nous en facilita les moyens. ce fut dans ce moment qu'ils samble que la nature voulut nous secourires, car Etant entrés par un petit sentier croche, dans une ravine profond, nous trouvâmes un demy souterrain le plus propre du monde pour faire cache.

nous y transportâmes promptement tous les affets. les y ayant mis en bon ordre, nous retournâmes a notre pirogue. il falloit la cacher, ce qui n'étoit pas peu difficil, car elle étoit si lourde et si grand que nous ne pouvions la tirer sur terre dans aucune endroit. nous la montâmes au lieu plus haut; nous l'enfoncâmes dans l'eau par le moyen de plusieurs trous de terriere que mes gens percèrent dans la solle et de quantité de pierres qu'ils jetterent dedans. ces ouv[r]ages finies le jour approchoit. il falloit fuire, crainte d'être vus. nous grimpâmes plusieurs côtes escarpées et traversâmes des ravines profondes remplies de futayes Epaisses qui nous fatiguerent Beaucoup le reste de la nuit. au soleil levant nous nous trouvâmes dans de vastes prairies, ou on ne voit que le ciel et la terre.

nous restâmes la journée entierre cachés dans un trou sans boire ni menge. le soir, pressés par la soif, nous gagnâmes un petit reuissau, ou nous fîmes cuire des gallètes de la farine que nous portions pour notre voyage.

cetoit le troisième jour dû mois d'octobre. dans la nuit nous nous éloignâmes plus de deux lieux de la rivierre dans les prairies, et nous marchâmes, le quatre, la journée entierre sans trouver d'eau. le [cinq] ploussés par la fin [faim] et la soif, nous approchâmes a la rivierre [à] tout hasard d'estre découvert. nous eûmes le Bonheur de tuer une biche. nous passâmes le reste de la journé et la nuit a faire secher la viande après nous être bien rassasier. nous vîmes les feux des scioux qui s'élevoient de toute par en haut et en bas et sur la partie meme ou nous étions.

aucun de nous ne connoissoit ce paÿs. nous ne pouvions suivre de près la rivierre, crainte d'estre découverts. il falloit faire route a deux et trois lieux au large, prenant bien garde de ne pas monter sur les hauteur. nous ne trouvions dans le cours de la journée aucun ruisseau ou il y eut de leau pour Etanches notre soif.

<sup>56</sup> Half a bushel.

Le soir il falloit necessairement détournes notre chemin de plus de deux lieux pour trouves l'eau. encore ne trouvâmes nous plus d'une fois que de tres mauvaises eaux salées. Enfin, le jour ayant le soleil pour guide, et la nuit les étoiles, nous marchâmes cinq jour avec la peur, la soif, et la faim, les pieds toujours rempli de piquant que les voyageurs nomment pommes de raquete, dont la surface de ces prairies est couvertes.

la sixième journée du matin, neuvième du mois, nous découvrîmes le village des ricaras.<sup>57</sup>

tout contents, nous croyons notre misserie finie, et notre vie en seureté, mais notre joye ne durat pas longtems.

car ayont Examiné de dessus une côte élevés avec attention la place ou nous paroisoient les cabanes, je ne voyois perones aux environ, ne aucune apparence de fumés sortir du sommet de leur demeure. je presentis tout aussitot qu'elle étoient vuides; et que les scioux ne m'avoient que trop dit la veritée. nous continuâmes notre chemin et entrâmes dans ces habitations abandonnées. depuis plus de deux mois toutes ces cabanes étoient délabrées et a demy Brulées par les ennemis. nous y trouvâmes quantité de soulier, de peaux de Beuf enparchemen<sup>58</sup> et toutes sortes d'ustanciles de leur usage, qu'ils ne setoient pas donnés le temps de cacher ou déporter dans leur fuite. nous y passâmes la nuit tous chagrens et inquiete de l'avenir. nos esperances étoient trompées et notre seule ressource évanouie, par la desertion des ricaras. quelques uns de mes gens pensoient, qu'il seroit apropos de suivre leur chemin jusqu'a l'endroit ou ils seroit arrêtés pour l'hyvernement; d'autres disoient qu'il seroit mieux de poursuivre route jusqu'au village de mendannes située a plus de cent lieux de celui cy. je ne reçus aucunes de ces avis. il étoit extravagant d'entreprendre de si longue route dans un paÿs inconnu sans vivres, plus encore imprudent dans donnes [d'en donner(?)] aux hasards les marchandises mises en cache sans scavoir en quel temps nous pourrions y revenir. elles pouvoient étres trouvées par les sauvage, ou Endommagées par les injures du tems. je résolus d'y retourner promptement; de descendre le missourie avec méfiance jusqu'au delà des passages ordinaires des scioux, Etant tous déterminés de nous battre jusqu'a la mort plutôt que de nous laisses prendre, ni par eau ni par terre, par [ces] démons.

le lendemain dixième du mois, après nous être bien munis de soulier, et de cuire de boeuf a semelle, nous retournames sur nos pas.

nous arrêtâmes environ a trois lieux en decà dans un lieux ou il nous parut y avoir des chevreuil. un de mes gens trouva un chevreuil que les loups sortoient détrangler; qui nous fit faire un bon repas. le onsième et le douzième nous practiquâmes la même route que nous avions tenus en allant. nous couchâmes en rase campagne sans eau, sans feu, et sans vivres. le troisieme au matin nous arrivâmes sur une petite rivierre nommé petit Missouri,<sup>59</sup> a la gauche du missourie. cette rivierre est tres petite. leau ni coule point en cette saison ne sy trouvant que par trou. y voyant bien des piste de chevreuil, mes gens me demanderent, a y rester une journée ou deux, tant pour y chasser, que pour se reposés. jy consentis volontiers, n'ayant rien a manges depuis deux jours, et étant tous fatigués de la route que nous avions déjà fait tant le jours que la

<sup>57</sup> The villages of the Arikara are reported in part II. of the journal as situated near the Missouri, a few miles below the Cheyenne; *Missouri Hist. Soc. Coll.*, IV. 31. The tribe is elaborately described in that part; *ibid.*, IV. 23-35.

<sup>58</sup> Dried buffalo skins.

<sup>59</sup> Bad River?

nuit. nous y restâmes ce jour la et le lendemain quatorzième du mois. mes gens y tuèrent deux chevreuils. le quinze, seize et dix septième, nous fîmes route avec les mêmes peine pour leau, et toujours en crainte d'estre découverts par les scioux, dont on voyoit les feux tres pret de nous. le dix sept nous tuâmes un Beuf fort maigre. mes gens en prîrent quelques morceaux. nous trouvant près d'un trou d'eau, ils nettoyerent le ventre de ce beuf, et en firent une espee d'urne portatif qu'ils remplirent d'eau pour Boire en marchant.

L'après midy nous traversâmes un chemin de scioux passés De la veille; je le su[iv]is jusqu'à leur campement; il étoient au nombre de vingt huit loges. ils paroisoient aller sur le petit missourie d'ou nous venions.

Dieu nous avoit preservés de leur rencontre, mais je craignoi fort qu'il eussent passés a lendroit de notre cache. nous reconnûmes a notre arrivée sur le missourie qu'ils venoit de l'autre partie; et avoient traversés plus haut. le dix huit nous marchâmes sur les Bord de la rivierre jusqu'à notre pirogue que nous trouvâmes telle que nous l'avons mis.

L'ayant vuidee d'eau, nous descendîmes a lendroit de notre cache des marchandises, qui se trouvent en même situation. le lendemain dix neuvieme du mois, je resultai [resoudais] de faire cache de douze a treise cent livres de plomb, cent cinquante pioches et haches, et d'une caisse contenant quatre groses de couteaux. deux fortes raisons me firent prendre ce parti: la premiere, les eaux étant si Basses en cette saison, je ne pouvois descendre qu'avec Beaucoup de peine, ayant une charge si pesante a traines dans les battures; et si par mal'heur je recontrais les scioux qui chassoient par en bas de la rivierre, il m'étoit impossible dechapper de leur mains par la fuite de nuit, étant si chargée.

la deuxième, devant remontées au printems, ma pirogue seroit plus allégé, et par conséquent je pourrois faire meilleure route. cette cache étant faite, je partis et je vint campes a trois lieux plus Bas.

le vingt nous fîmes route en descendant la journée entiere. deux heures avant le couchés du soleil, deux de mes gens étant allé a la chasse virent la piste d'un hommes passé du jour même. le lendemain vingt et un, notre chasseurs, noel charon, ayant été a la chasse, revint aussitôt me rapportée qu'il avoit trouvé la place ou avoit été tué un chevreuil dont le sang paroisoit encore sur les feuilles. je pensai que c'étoit des scioux qui seroient venus a la recherche des Beufs sauvages et que leur loges pouvoient estre éloignées, et même sur l'autre Bord du missouris. je me trompois, j'étois plus près d'eux que je ne croyois. je restai ce jour la au même lieu pour tachés de découvrir ce que ce pouvoit estre, avant destre vus. je fus moimêmes a la decouverte, sur le soir. je ne vis ni n'entendis rien. c'étoit le troisieme jour que nous ne mangions que de Boutons de roses, que nous trouvions de cá de la. mes gens, tourmantés par la fim, firent Bouillire deux peaux de chevreuil vertes, que nous mengéâmes (mauvais regal). le vingt deux au matin parut un chevreuil sur une batture près de notre campement. nous Embarquâmes pour aller le tirer avec grand désin dans notre necessité de le tuer. la providence nous préserve, la, d'un nouveau malheur. le chevreuil s'enfuit, et bien nous enprit [?] de n'avoir pû le tires. nous poussâmes au [rgs], tous, pensifs, chagrin de tant de traverses, et de peine. nous laissant aller doucemen au cours de leau, nous entendâmes des cris, Des hurlement de chiens que l'on battoit. ces cris partoient du fond de la pointe de bois que nous suivions. j'approchai promptement terre. a la bû [but] des Ecorres et de quelques chicot je débarquai, et me glissai jusqu'a une

petite éminence, où je pus le decouvrir sans être vu. je vis une troupe nombreuse, de femmes, d'enfants, avec leur attirail de chevaux et de chiens, qui sortoient de la pointe de bois environ a vingts arpents de nous. je distinguois facilement leur langage. je reconnus que cetoit un village scioux qui étoit en marche, et qui s'acheminoit dans la prairie en remontant le missourie.

ayant entendus la voix d'un hommes qui paroissoit venir vers nous, je couru embarques, et nous nous éloignames a force de rames. les eaux étoient si Basse que nous touchâmes le fond a plusieurs fois, mais la pointe de bois qui se trouva longue et épaisses nous garantit d'être vus par eux. nous forçames la marche cette journée la fort tard et le lendemain toute la journée. un de mes gens tua un petit chevreuil de l'année, que nous nous mengiames d'un seul repas. parvenus quelque lieux plus bas que la rivierre Blanche, nous nous sentimes un peu plus assurés, étant hors des endroits les plus frequentés par les scioux. nous trouvâmes pour lors des bêtes fauves, suffisamment pour vivre. nous descendions a petite journée. les chevreuils, les biches, et les Beuf sauvages, couroient par troupeau de chaque côté de la rivierre. nous voila donc dans une grande abondance de vivres après avoir bien jéunés.

moi et mes gens nous étions tout a fait chagrins de n'avoir pû nous rendre ches les nations ou nous devions aller cet automne, par la rencontre des scioux et par la fuitte Des ricaras qui avoit le plus contribuée a notre relache.

nos esperances commençoient a renaitre, au moins pour ne plus que manque de vire [vivres], car j'avois eû bien des ébats avec plusieurs de mes gens, qui, s'[et]ant souvent crus perdus pour jamais dans les prairis, [ou] absolument mort soit par fain [soit par] la soif, ou par la main des scioux, maudissoient a chaque instant le moment où il [s'e]toient embarqués pour un tel voyage. j'avois toujours ranimé leur courage par mes parole et mon exemple. mais le moyen le plus infailible pour ramener [la] gaitée, et procures le repos dans lesprit de certaines gens, est de leur bien faire remplir le ventre. il ne s'agissoit donc plus que de choisir un lieu convenable pour y passés l'hyvers, et vivre de la chasse, et de nous mettre dans un endroit, non frequenté, ni par les scioux ni par d'autres nations, En attendant le printems pour remonter le missouris. j'arretai environ dix lieux plus haut que le village des poncas;<sup>60</sup> sachant que cette nation étoit dans cette saison éloignée a la recherche des vaches sauvages et que les scioux ne venoient jamais chassés sur leur territoire, étant ennemis avec eux. ce fut le quatrième de novembre que nous choisîmes la place d'une maison d'hyvernement voulant nous y bien fortifier, contre les attaques des Barbares.

<sup>60</sup> The place chosen for winter quarters was apparently on the north bank of the Missouri, about opposite Fort Randall, but a little above, and where the map in Perrin du Lac's *Voyage* has the legend, "Second Poste de la Compagnie". Lewis and Clark, under date of September 8, 1804, say (Thwaites, I. 142), "At 3 Mls. passed the house of Troodo where he wintered in 96 [their log says 96-97], called the Pania house", apparently the same spot. It is not, however, to be regarded as certain that Truteau spent the winter of 1795-1796 in the same place; Lewis and Clark may give the date incorrectly. Sergeant Gass, *Journal*, ed. 1807, p. 37, says under the same date, "Captain Lewis who had been out with some of the men hunting informed us he has passed a trading house, built in 1796". The newly discovered journal of Sergeant Ordway says, "Capt. Clark went out this morning to walk on N. S. [i. e., on the north side]. we passed a Trading house picked in on the Same Side abo[ve] where the Capt. went out in a handsome Timbered Bottom, which had been built in 1796."

toujours en crainte de quelques Evenements imprévus, je fis creuses un trou bien profond en terre pour y mettre les marchandises les plus propices pour les nations du haut du missourie ou je devois aller, voul[an]t encore faire une deuxième cache du reste des effets dans l'enceinte de notre cabane, lorsqu'elle seroit contruite, ne reservant que ce qui nous étoit absolument nécessaire pour vivre.

la perte que je reçus par les scioux fut asser grande, car les pelteries que je reçus d'eux ne se montoient pas a deux cent livres. cette vérification faite, je fis enfermer la plus forte partie des effet dans ce trou, apprés en avoir pris un état, et les y ayant bien conditionnées. mes gens, pour mieux en cacher la place, firent un petit canot de chasse dessus l'ouverture, de sorte que la quantités des coupeaux qui étoient entassés dessus, en effacoit les moindres vestiges.

le dixième Du mois ces ouvrage furent finis.

Le onsième mes gens couperent des bois pour notre cabane d'hyvernement. le douzième notre chasseur noël charron étant, a l'ordinaire, allé a la chasse, revint accompagné d'un sauvage. je fus surpris a la vue de cette homme, car je ne m'attendois pas a en voir aucun icy.

je demandai de quelle nation il étoit. il me dit qu'il étoit mahas; que vingt deux loges de sa nation étoient campées a quelques lieux plus Bas que nous; qu'ils arriveront le lendemain. le chef de cette Bande est nommé par les français le gros lapin,<sup>61</sup> et aussi reconnu pour un grand coquin.

je ressentis un vive douleur de leur arrivée. je n'avois pû cacher les marchandises qui me restoient.

je prévus toutes les poursuite, qu'ils allaient faire pour avoir des amunitions de chasse a credit, car il m'avoit déjà appris, qu'ils étoient partis de leur village dénués de poudre, Balle, et autres besoins nécessaires; qu'ils n'étoient point venus de français cet automne ches eux; que le Sr jean muniers y étant arrivé au milieu de l'été pour avoir des vivres pour se rendre a la nation poncas, ils l'avoient arrêtée; mais qu'ayant apporté si peu de marchandises, la plus grande partie de leur gens n'avoit put en avoir; que le manque de vivres, n'ayant point eu de maillis cette année, les avoit obligés de partir, et de se dispersés par Bande de tout cotés pour chercher la vie de leur femmes, et de leur enfants qui étoient a demy morts de faim. en effet il vient a nous cette journée la plusieurs hommes qui se jetterent sur nos viandes comme des loups afamés. nous avions pour lors des échaffauts bien fournies de chevreuil, de dindes, et de Beuf sauvages.

sur le soir arrivâ le chef gros lapin qui me repette les mêmes choses que le premier arrivées. ils ajouta que lui et ses gens étoient tres contents de nous avoir recontrés; que les français seuls étoient le soutin de toutes les nations peux rouge; qu'ils éprovièrent aujourd'huy, plus que jamais, la nécessité d'en avoir par mieux, manquant absolument de nourriture, faute des fusils, poudre, Balles etc., que les seuls français pouvoient leurs procurer (Discours flatteurs et rousés, qu'ils ont coutûme de tenir au français [a] la premiere vûe) ne cherchant sans cesse qu'a nous tromper, et a extorqués nos marchandises par toutes sortes de voyes en[ ]es.

tous les sauvages de cette rivierre, comme ailleur, je parle de ceux qui sont les plus fréquentés par nous, sont fins et rusés. ils ont plus de

<sup>61</sup> Le Gros Lapin (Big Rabbit) was an important Omaha chief, who succeeded to the headship of the tribe on the death of Blackbird. See Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XIV. 320; XV. 89.

connaissance que Bien des personnes ne les en croyent. le chef gro lapin me dit que leur grand chef nommé toangareste ([en] français le faiseur de village)<sup>62</sup> étoit resté avec le nommé jean munier, esperant qu'ils viendroient des français a la denierre saison de l'automne, que ce chef avoit été bien fâché lorsqu'il avoit appris [appris] que j'étois passé a son village, sans y arrêtes, avec une grande voiture chargée de marchandises pour les nations du haut du missouris. je lui fis une narrations amplifiée de ce qui m'étoit arrivé ches les sioux; j'exagerai la quantité des marchandises qui m'avoient étés pillées par les sioux, car il ne manqua pas en voyant notre pirogue de me dire, qu'il n'étoit pas croyable qu'une si grande voiture n'eut apportés que ce qu'ils paroissait de marchandises. je luy fis Entendre que les sioux m'en avoient dépouillés de la plus forte partie et même de nos chaudières de service. les pelteries des scioux qu'il reconnut bien lui fis croire que je disois la verité, ainsi il me laisse tranquil de ce côté la.

le troisième du mois les viellards, les femmes, et les enfants arriverent. il étoit veritable qu'ils manquoient de vivres, ne mangeants que des racines. ainsi ils nous accabloient lorsque nous prenions nos repas, se Battoient a qui auroit nos Buillons de viande, ramassoient les os que nous jettions pour les ronges. c'étoit chose Etrange.

je me comportai dans cette occasion de maniere a ne point irritée des gens affamés, et a ne point nous exposes nous mêmes a manquer tout a coup de vivres. nous leur faisons part de notre manges, leur en distribuant quelques morceaux, principalement aux enfant. il me repré-senterent leurs miseres, n'ayant la plus part point de fusils; et nous demanderent les notes pour chasser aux chevreuils, ce qui nous repugnoit Beaucoup, mais Bon gré mal gré il fallut y consentir, car il s'en emparerent, sans attendre notre consentements; et nous nous trouvâmes alors a dépendre d'eux pour les nourriture.

le lendemain ils s'assemblerent et me demanderent poudre, Balle, couteaux, etc. a credit.<sup>63</sup> je resistai longtems a leurs demandes, leur représentant que j'en avois tres peu. ils persisterent, et m'obligent de leur en donnés.

pour éviter le tumulte ordinaire lorsqu'ils prennent de force, je consentis de leurs en donnes, moyennant qu'ils nen prendroient que pour douse a quinze peaux au plus par chaque chasseur, ce qui fut exécuté dans l'instant. le chef gros lapin et quelques considerés me forcerent a leur en donnes pour trente et quarante peaux. il me fait de grande promesses pour luy et ses gens; mais jay bien peur qu'il me trompe.

ils ont pa[r]tis premierement pour la chasse des Beuf sauvages, et sont revenus au bout de quinze jours bien chargés de viande sèche. En

<sup>62</sup> We are informed by Mr. Francis La Flesche of the Bureau of American Ethnology, a member of the Omaha tribe, that the Omaha equivalent for "The Maker of Villages" is Ton'-won-ga-he (the n's nasalized), and that this was one of the names of Wa-zhin'-ga-ca-be or Black Bird, a famous Omaha chief. Miss Kellogg had already indicated the identification, the descriptions of Black Bird or Blackbird in *Early Western Travels* (cf. index) tallying closely with Truteau's account, even to his use of arsenic or other poison to create fear of vengeance.

<sup>63</sup> "Traders are obliged to credit out their goods among them in winter, and wait till spring for their pay. It is usual for one or two chiefs to become responsible for the payment; but notwithstanding this . . . many of the Indians cannot discharge their debts; others refuse to make any payment at all. Nothing so much offends an Indian as to be requested to pay his old debts." Stoddard, *Sketches Historical and Descriptive of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 1812), p. 445.



reconnaissance de l'assistance qu'ils ont reçus de nous, ils me vendent les nourritures au poid de l'or; tous les sauvages, et plus qu'aucuns ceux cy, ne scavent ou plustot ne veulent pas reconnoître les Bienfaits qu'ils reçoivent de nous, nous y croyant obligés.

La dépense que je suis obligé de faire icy, pour la nourriture de neuf hommes est exorbitants. n'ayant aucune provisions de maillis, je suis réduit d'acheter des viandes seches, morceau a morceau, de ces canailles la, notre chasseur noele charron ne pouvent plus rien tuer parmy eux, les animaux s'estant éloignes. ils son retournés a la chasse des castor et des chevreuils, pour me bien payer disent.

le dix huit de decembre est arrivé ici le grand chef des mahas Dont j'ai parlé plus haut. redoublemen de surprise et de mécontentement pour moy. l'arrivée du premiers me genoit beaucoup pour notre départ du printems et m'occasionoit Bien des dépenses, que je naurois pas fait s'il ne fut venu, tant pour les nourritures que pour quelques effets que j'etois forcé dé fois et dautres de luy donnés. l'arrivée du dernie mettoit le comble a mon Enbarras.

ce grand chef des mahas est le plus fin, le plus rusé, et le plus coquin de toutes les nations qui habitent le missourie. il est craint et respecté, et en grande renommée ches les nations Etrangerre, qui c[ha]que n'ose le contredire ouvertement ni agir contre sa volonté. il ne se fait aucun partis, soit de guerre ou de chasses, qu'il n'ait donné son consentement. son nom est cité dans toutes les assemblées et hara[n]gues fait a son absence dans les lieux les plus éloignés, qu'ils aillent. tous ses voisins écouten[t] sa parole et le comble De présent lorsqu'ils vâ les visitees. si quelq'un de ses gens acquierre Belles marchandises ou beaux chevaux et qu'il paroisse les désirer on s'empresse de les lui donne. il ne fait aucun route a pied, il est toujours monté sur un des plus beau cheval qui soit dans son village. il a des esclaves pour le service, et pour mieux dire ils sont tous ses esclaves, car veut-il dormir il a (un ou deux loués, convalits) qui luy frottent doucement les jambes et les pieds pendant qu'il dort. si ces valets ordinaires sont absents, il sert également des plus considérés et des plus brave de ses gens pour cette office.

est-il nécessaire de le réveille il faut le faire avec precaution, prenant bien garde de luy criés aux oreilles, ni le panser de la main, mais ils se servent d'unes plume qu'il luy passent legerement sur le visages ou en le chatouillant doucement a certains endroits du corps. enfin cest un homme qui par son esprit et ses ruses s'est élevé a un si haut point d'autorité dans sa nations qu'il ny en a point d'exemple ches tout autres peuple sauvage de ce continent. il peut faire et faire faire le bien et le mal quand il luy plait. ce nest point par ses actions guerrierres qu'il s'est acquit tant de pouvoir, car il a toujours été porté a la paix, mais par la crainte que ses gens et ses voisins ont de certains poisons dont il se ser, disent ils, faire mourir ceux que luy déplaisent. il arrache au françois qui viennent en commerce ches luy leurs plus Belles marchandises Et leur donne en payement si peu de pelteries, que celui qui ne perd que cent et cent cinquante pour cent prix dachat seroit heureux. il promet Beaucoup et ne tient jamais se parole. il tire tout les an, des poncas, et de ses gens mêmes, quantité de peaux de castor et de l'outre. mais il les conserve pour les nation située sur le missisipy qui luy apportent tous les printemps e[n] Echange, des draps Ecarlatte, des porcelaines et des argenterres sauvages, et quelque peu d'audévie [eau de vie] pour laquelle il est fort passionné. et la plus part de ses gens suivent son exemple, ne payant qu'en peaux de chevreuil Bonne et mauvaises, le fusils, chaudierrres,

poudre, balles etc. qu'ils prennent a credit. sils nous trafiqué des castors et des loutres cest au prix qu'ils veulent, et toujours a la perte de celui qui leur vend. ce chef feint quelque fois de prendre les interest des françois, mais dans le fond toutes les beaux discours qu'il leur tient, les grandes promesses qu'il leur fait, n'ont pour but que de les piller luy même sous un faux voile d'amitié qu'il leur fait paroître; et après qu'il sest satisfait, ils laissent le traiteur se débatre avec ses gens qui luy arrache ses effets au meilleure marché qu'il peuvent. dans ces extremités il faut avoir recours aux chef du secont rang, aux braves et aux soldats, cest autant de sang-sues qui vous extorque l'autre tiers de vos effets pour leurs bons services.

cet hommes sait fait valoir aux françois le besoin qu'ils on de luy, soit dans le commerce des pelteries avec sa nation soit dans la distribution des crédits qui sans sa présence se feroit avec tumulte et profusion, soit pour en retires le payement; ayant la politique de laisser, dans loccasion, le traiteur dans l'embaras par les disputes, les menaces, les rapines faites par ses gens, qui sont de leur nature Brûtes et féroces et venant ensuite a son secours, il ne manque jamais de mettre le calme et le bon orde. le pauvre traiteurs se trouvant heureux de son appuy est forcé de le charges de louange, de caresse et de bons traitements, et n'ose luy refuses tous ce qu'il désire.

quant a ses gens il sait leur faire connoître que de lui dépend leur bien être. il regle les mesures de poudre et les prix Des marchandises. tantot elles sont d'une grandeur Enorme, et les prix des marchan médiocres; voulant, leur dit, il avoir pitié d'eux. dautres fois elles sont plus petites et les prix plus haut, ce qui arrive rarement. par cette conduite alternative de bien et de mal, il tient les uns et les autres dans la crainte et l'espérance. mais a son particuliers il n'y a point, depuis plusieurs années, de changement. au contraire il s'empare gratuitement du tiers au moins de marchandises qui arrivent ches luy. a larrivés des françois a son villages il fait faire l'ouverture de ce qu'il, apportent et s'approprié tout ce qu'il luy plait. les engagés même son[t] forcé d'ouvrir leur cassette ou havre-sac, qu'il visite. il leur arrache un partie de leur tabac et autres petits effets qu'ils peuvent avoir. les chef du second rang font aussi leur rapine, sans que l'on puisse se révolter contre eux, toujours avec promesses de bien payes, ce qu'il font a leur volonté et a perte pour le marchand. quant au common de ce peuple, le trafique se fait avec asses de profits, mais la perte que ce chef et ses suivents apportent aux traiteur leur enlevant la meilleure et la plus forte partis de leur effets avil prix, les met hors d'etat dy faire aucun gain. ce poste des mahas est présentement le plus désavantageux de toute cette rivierre, tant par la grand connoissance qu'ils ont du commerce des anglois sur le missisipy, que par la nauvaise disposition de cette nation et de leur chef a notre égard. on dit que quelques coureurs de bois y ont fait autrefois de gros profits. il n'avoient pas encore cette communication pernicieuse avec les nations dependantes des englois. il n'y avoit cher [chez] eux qu'un seul chef; qui, nouvellement reconnu pour tel par Messieurs les commandants des illinois, se portoit entierement aux intérêts des traiteurs. sa conduite particulierre étoit honnête; il payoit toujours bien les marchandises qu'il prenoit. depuis quelques années il est entierement changé pour nous. il nous parle d'une façon, pense et agit de l'autre. son esprit n'est occupé que de ruses et de fourberies pour nous trompes et envahis nos marchandises. tous les jours il nous reproche que les françois sont des grands menteurs, et des trompeurs. il dit que depuis plusieurs années il avoit

demandé une certaine médaille plus grand que les medailles ordinaires, que Mr montardy<sup>64</sup> lá lui avoit apporté, mais ne la trouvant pas semblables aux autres par les quatres portraits qui estoient incrustés dedans, et le tours de cette medaille qui étoit unis et sans cordon, il l'avoit renvoyé a son perre Espagnol pour qu'elle fut refaite avec une seul figure, nayant pas quatre ceur [cœurs], dit il, pour quâtre pere; que cette medaille luy appartient puisqu'elle luy avoit été envoyé par son pere Espagnol; qu'il ne l'at point refusé, ni renvoyé pour la perdre tout a fait. il dit que tous les ans les traiteur qui viennent chez luy, luy disent, que cette medaille a été envoyé au grand village des Espagnols pour estre refaite (ce qui est faux, car Mr montardy l'a gardé) et lui font entendre qu'elle viendra l'année d'ensuite. il voit clairement qu'il est trompé, aussi ne menage-t-il plus rien pour occasionnes de la perte aux français qui viennent en commerce chez luy, ou qui veulent passes pour aller plus haut.<sup>65</sup>

il dit tous lé jours qu'il est a la veille de laches la Bride a ses gens, et de les laisser pillier et tuer les français par tout ou ils les trouveront; que sa nation seule n'en a jamais tués par l'opposition qu'il y a toujours mis; que présentemen peu de chose le retient. il accuse surtout Mr montardy de luy avoir fait de grandes promesse qui n'ont point arrivées.

toutes ces causes luy tiennent, lieu de pretexte legitime, pour rapiner. Bouches les chemin ou fait payers des tributs onereux.

si, Messieurs, je me suis un peu trop étendu au sujet de ce chef et de sa nation dont jay étudié cet hyvers le caractere, la façon de pensés et d'agir, c'étoit pour vous instruire avec veritée de ce qui ce passe cher [chez] cette nation, car je prévois que vous aurés besoin d'une communication directe avec elle pour procurer un passage libre et sur a vos pirogas tant en montant qu'en descendant le missouris. n'esperés pas de continuer ces voyages furtives avec facilitée. tot ou tard vos effets y seront prise et pillées et peutêtre votre monde tué.

car il est certain que sçachant présentement les desseins des français pour le commerce du haut du missouris, est [et] le temps ou ils ont coutume de montes, ils les quéteront et feront des découvertes, en partis de guerre, en haut et en bas, pour les suprendre. il sont déjà fort irrités contre nous a ce sujet et en particulier contre le Sr jacques d'eglise, qui volent, disent-ils, toutes les étées le chemin. jay persuadé au chef que javois arrêté a son village pour le voir et luy parles en passant, mais n'y ayant trouvé personne javois continué route.

le village des mahas seroit le poste le plus propice pour y établir un dépôt de marchandises et de vivres pour fournir au commerce du haut du missouris; étant situé environ a moitié chemin des nations mendannes, pour lors le transport des marchandises [a]ux mendanes seroit plus court, et moins risquable, pouvant profiter de la saison que les scioux s'éloignent ordinairement des bords du missouris. pour passer de plus ils est absolument nécessaires, pour mettre le grand chef des mahas dans nos interest, soit pour le commerce avec sa nation soit pour celui du haut du missourie, qui ne se pourra faire facilement, sans son aveu, de le contenter, en [l]ui

<sup>64</sup> Pierre Montardy, born in 1736 at Montauban in France, came to America as a soldier. In 1765 he was a sergeant at Fort Chartres, was married there, and later in the year came to St. Louis with Governor St. Ange, when the country east of the Mississippi was given over to the British. He had a grant of land in St. Louis, built a house there, and was much esteemed in the village. He was a captain of militia in 1787, and died in 1809.

<sup>65</sup> The medal which the Omaha so insistently demanded of Truteau was brought to him by Mackay the next year. Houck, *Spanish Régime*, II, 186.

procurant cette medailles qu'il demande depuis si longtems, et un grand pavillon. et touts les ans la compagnie, de concert avec le gouvernement, pourroit luy envoyé un present. par ce moyen elle pourroit se procurer un passage libre cher cette nation, et y tirer quelques secours de vivres pour une si longue route soit en allant ou revenant. tous le jours ce chef me parle de l'entreprise des français pour le haut du missouris, des risques et des dengers ou ils s'exposent par le recontre des sioux. il ne désaprouve pas tout a fait á la frequentations que nous voulons avoir avec les ricaras, et les mendanes. il convient que ce sont des Bons sauvages ches qui les français seront bien reçus. mais il ne peut, dit-il, nous pardonnes depasses en cachette a son village. je luy repond, que les français trouvoient toujours tant de difficultées a passes les village situés sur le missouris qu'ils prennent souvent le partis d'y passes en cachette; que les français parcouroient toute la terre; que les chemins leur étoient libres partout sans qu'aucunes nations sauvages y mit obstacle; que dans cette seule rivierre, les nations fermoient les oreilles aux paroles de leur pere Espagnols, Empechoient les français daller a la recherche des pelteries ou bon leurs sembloient; que si au contraire ils laissoient les chemins libres et ouverts ils verroient en tout temps Des pirogues chargées de marchandises passer et repasser a leur village, ou ils arrêteroient en seureté comme En leurs propre, tel qu'il se pratique ches toutes les nations du missisipy, ches que les français vont et viennent librement. quelle jalousis, luy dis je, vous transporte tous, de nous voir porter les besoins aux nations situées ou delá de vous? pour quoi y porter vous Empechement avec tant d'opiniatrete? n'êtes vous pas contants et heureux que les français soient parvenus jusqu'a vous, et vous y apporté tous les ans vos Besoins? pourquoi nous ampécher [empechez] vous de les portés a dautre et d'y chercher des pelletteries? ces nations ricaras et mendannes, que tu avoues toi même estre de bons sauvages, ne te remercieront—ils pas de laisses un beau chemin aux français, qui leur portent un coup de poudre, un couteau? ton nom seroit publié et élevé, ches toutes les nations jusqu'aux sources de cette rivierre. ton pere, le grand chefs des Espagnols, lorsqu'il apprendroit que tu Ecoute sa parole, que tu joint ton coeur au sien pour procurer les Besoins a tous ses enfants situées sur le missouris, ne seroit il pas content? je ne decouvre aucun sujets justes et veritables qui puissent t'occasionnes de Bouché le chemin aux français dans ces voyages; au contraires j'en'y vois que du bien pour toi et la nation; tu serois assuré de les voir en toute saison. les nations cher [chez] qui nous parviendrions pouroient par notre moyen avoir fréquentation avec toy et le procurer quantité de chevaux a bien meilleure compte que ches les panis, qui vous les font toujours payés bien chère.

il me repondit que c'etoit bien; qu'il n'ignoroit pas que les nations blanches couroient a la recherche des pelletteries cher [chez] tout les peuples sauvages qu'il pouvoient decouvrir et que sans doute les premiers français qui avoient penetrés de nations en nation s'étoit ouverts les chemins entre eux et chagues village où ils passaient, annonçant les paroles de leur g[r]and chef; faisants des présents de sa par[t] quand il étoit necessaire; mettants les sauvages en union partout; n'epargnant Rien pour adoucir leur esprit ferores et changeants; Et qu'il savoit tres bien que malgré le bon coeur des français et leur presents, ils ont souvent étés pillés et tués par toutes les nations qu'il frequentent, (Exceptés les mahas); que tout les chemins qu'ils avoient ouverts Etoient arrosés de leur sang et couverts des marchandises tant données que pillés; qu'aujourd'huy notre chef et nous, ne prenions par [pas] les mêmes trace de nos ancêtres;

puisqu' au lieu de nous frayer les chemin par un bon accord avec les nations qui sont situées sur notre route, en leur annonç[a]nt les paroles et le dessein de notre chef, au lieu d'employer les moyens ordinaires et convenable pour les mettre d'accord entr'elle, et pour adoucir les prit et le coeur des méchant, nous ne cherchions qu'a les irrités en vol[a]nt les chemins; que sans doute le dessein de notre chef et de nous étoit de nous ouvrir les chemin par le sang, et le pillage. tu sors, toi-même, dit il, de d'éprouver par la main des scioux qui ont faillis totés [t'ôter] la vie; d'autres la perdrons, soit par celle des poncas ou des scioux. quant a moi, vous ne pouvés m'imputer de vous avoir nuit [nui], puisque vous vous en êtes toujours si bien cachés.

tu me reproche, me dit—il, d'avoir arrêté [le] nommé jean monier qui étoit détiné pour les poncas. cela est vrai; si je l'ai fait c'étoit pour le préservés des insultes que cette nations luy auroit faites, sil se fut rendu cher [chez] elle; j'étois informé de leur ma[u]vaise disposition pour les français, et pour luy particulièrement: disant qu'après son départ de ches eux, ils étoient morts quantité de Braves et considérés, att[r]ibuants cette mortalités a un certain calumet dans lequel jean munier les avoit fumer.

Dailleurs je suis mécontent de plus en plus des français. ils amènent de grandes pirogues chargées de marchandises pour les poncas, les ricaras, les mendanes, et cher [chez] toutes les nations qui habitent le missourie; peuples pour le plus part qui les tuent tous les jours et ma nation, qui n'at jamais tué d'homme Blancs en est privé cette année ainsi que moy de ma medaille.

Lorsque, après avoir attendu jusqu'a la dernière saison de l'automne, aux environs de mon village, j'ay vû arrives une seconde voiture, conduite par le nomme Salomon petit,<sup>66</sup> chargée de marchandises pour les poncas, et non pour moy. j'ai été tout a fait fâché contre les français. je les ai abandonné, et suis venu a la recherche des Beuf sauvages avec toute ma famille, au nombre de dix sept loges pour vivres.

Le Sr jean munier n'ayant pu faire aucune provisions de vivres at envoyé au nombre de six hyvernan avec les sauvages. ils sont arrivé icy avec cette dernière bandes. il m'ont assurés qu'a l'arrivée de la dernière pirogue, ce chef les avoit tres mal traité; qu'il avoit même poussé si rudement deux des engagés, qu'ils avoient culbutés du haut en bas dun Ecorre, menaçent de piller la poudre du dit jean muniers, que l'ayant apaisé il les a forcé d'hiverner tout auprès de son village et de donner a credit a ses gens de poudre et Balle se servant pour mesure d'une corne qui contenoit en trois fois pour une peau, plus d'une livre de poudre, et que luy même avoit pris plus de quatre pièce de drap et de vingt couverture Blanche, avec l'assortiment, sans luy donner un seul castor.

a son arrivée ici il m'at fait raconter ce qui m'étoit arrivé, et mayant fait entrés dans mon magasin, il mat obligé de luy montres ce qui me restoit de marchandises. il m'at plaint du malheur qui m'étoit arrivé chez les scioux; ajoutant qu'il ne vouloit pas que ses gens me fissent pleurer. mais par precaution, me voyant peu de Butin et avant que je le trafique, il mat pris Beaucoup de marchandise, me disant qu'il me payeroit bien; tous les jours il m'arrache quelques plumes. je n'a encore reçu de luy que quelques morceaux de viande. je crains bien qu'il ne me traite comme il traite les autres.

j'ai eû de grands difficultés avec le chef gros lapin, chef de 2<sup>me</sup> rang,

<sup>66</sup> See Houck, *Spanish Régime*, I. 186, 193. In 1780 Solomon Petit (or Petty or Paty), American, aged 26, was member of a militia company in St. Louis; later he was at St. Charles and Portage des Sioux.

qui non contant de m'avoir pris pour trois cent quatre vingt onze livres de marchandises, prix de ma facture, et ne m'avoir donné pour tout payement que seize castor, quatre loutre, cinquante peaux de chevreuil, et quatre peaux de biches, il vouloit me forces de luy donner dix Brasses de drap, dix couverture Blanche, a credit, payable au printemps a son village. je lai refusé fermement; mais je crois bien que sans la présence du grand chef, qui a prit mes interest dans cette occasion, il m'auroit fait un tres mauvais partis.

car Messieurs, que leur oppose que de simples paroles, qui n'ont pas plus d'effets que [si] elles étoient adressés aux arbres et aux roches, les menaces du courroux de leur pere, notre chef, et de la privation de leur Besoins? ils ont les oreilles si rebattues de ces sortes de menaces, qui n'arrivent jamais, qu'ils en rient et se moquent de nous, nous traitant de voleurs, disent que nous de leur apportons que de méchantes marchandises, que nos fusils ne valent rien, crevant la plus part dans leur mains, ou les ressorts manqueants a moitié leur chasse, que nos haches ne sont point d'un fers durs, cassant au premier coup qu'il donnent contre le bois le plus mols, qu'enfin ce[s]t encor trop payé de deux peaux de castor ou loutre, et de deux et trois peaux de chevreuil, une Brasse de drap, une couverture Blanche, et puisque les marchandises engloises, qui sont beaucoup plus belles et meilleures, se vendent a bien meilleure marché sur le missisipy. quant au reste des menuitées, qu'ils prennent toujours en quantité, ils se les approprient gratuitement, comme dues a leur quantité de chef et de soldats. j'ay été payé presque entierement du reste de cette Bande, a qui j'avois donnée pour deux cent trente et une peaux a crédit de poudre, balle, couteaux, pierres affeux [à feu], etc.

j'ai perdu soixante et deux peaux par les soldats et les considerées; ils ont employés vingt cinq jours a la chasse du chevreuil, et des castors, et n'en ont tués que tres peu, faute, dit il, de bons fusils pour les chevreuil; et de l'épaisseur de la glace pour le castor.

les chef et les soldats mis a part, on vend au commun du vilage avec Bénéfice. mais les premiers prenant a vil prix la majeure partie des marchandises, il n'en reste jamais assés pour enlever les pelteries des derniers, qui sont toujours les meilleures.

j'ay tres appropos a mon arrivée icy, cette automne, caché les marchandises les plus propices pour les nations du haut du missourie. car si tous ces coquins de chef et considerés les eussent vus, ils m'en auroient enlevés Bien d'avantage.

le deusième jour de fevrés trois jeunes sauvages qui étoient allés à la découverte des Beuf sauvages, rapporta[ie]nt qu'il avoient entendus plusieurs coups de fusils, et vus trois hommes. ils envoyèrent lendemain dix jeunes gens pour reconnoitre qui auroit tiré les coups de fusils.

Le quatrième, ils rapportèrent qu'ils avoit trouvés six loges de poncas, a quelques lieux plus haut que nous.

En m'annoncent cette nouvelle, ils m'en apprirent un Bien affligeante pour le Sr Jacques deglise, et pour moy, et consequemment qui cause un préjudice notable aux interests de la compagnie. ils me dirent donc que les poncas avoient surpris le Sr Jacques deglise, cet été, a une demi journée de marche plus haut que leur villages; qu'ayant été quelques moment en délibération de le tuer, ils s'étoient contentés de luy prendre vingt cinq fusils, deux Barils de poudre, les Balles proportionnellement, tabac, couteaux et autre marchandises dont je nai pû savoir au juste le nombre ni la quantité.

je fus fort affligé de cette perte. je croyois ces fusils saufs entre



les mains de Sr jacques deglise; a qui je les avoit confié a commission, par toutes les raisons que j'ai cité plus haut pages. dailleurs si je les eusse gardé dans ma pirogue, il m'auroient étés enlevés par les scioux. cette nouvelle ne mat pas été annoncé paisiblement. les chef mahas m'ont accablé de reproches et d'injurs; et menaçaient surtout le Sr jacques deglise de le maltraiter s'il le surprenent dans ces voyage ca[c]hés; ainsi que tous autres qui les entreprendront d'avantage.

je me suis défendu en leur assurant que j'ignorois que le Sr deglise eut remonté le missourie apprés moy, que sans doute, il avoit passé dans le tems que je marchois par terre pour me tendre aux ricasas.

je leur reitèrai les intoins [ententes?] de leur pere Espagnol, qui vouloit procurer les besoins a toutes les nations située sur le missouris; que les français qui vouloient fréquentes tous les peuples sauvages ne cherchoient qu'a faire le Bien et non le mal; et que ceux cy au contraire ne leur causoient que de la perte, pillant, les maltraitant partout ou ils les rencontroient, et même dans leur village.

je leur dit que ces voyages fu[r]tives dont il nous faisoient tant de reproche, ne leur causoient aucuns dommages, Et que si les français agissoient ainsi c'etoit par la connoissance de leur mauvaise intentions pour eux; et encore une fois par les difficultés qu'ils faisoient toujours de les laisser passés, et que si au contraire ils laissoient les chemins libres nous y arretèrions avec plaisirs.

si tous les peuples sauvages, leur dis je, qui sont situés sur les chemins des français, depuis les pays ou se font le marchandises, jusqu'a vous, leur eussent fermé les passages, vous n'aurier jémais reçus de nous des Besoins qui vous sont si nécessaires, mais au contraire toutes ces nations, contentes d'avoir des français parmy eux, qui donnent la vie a leurs femmes et leur enfants, Ecoutent la parole de leur père, sont toujours daccord avec leur frere, les hommes Blancs, qui vont et viennent en tout tems en toute saison dun village a l'autre, comme ils leur plait, [s]ans y trouves aucune oppositions. vous seuls, Mahas, autos,<sup>67</sup> et poncas, qui avér plus besoin de nous qu'aucunes autres nations, fermés les oreilles aux paroles de votre père notre chef: vos esprits et vos coeurs sont remplis de mauvais sentiments pour nous, ne cherchant qu'a nous voles, nous trompés, nous pillés, et a nous nuire dans nos entreprises par toutes sortes de moyens. enfin apprés bien des ébats semblables, car je ne ferois pas si je citois toutes les impertinents discours, qu'il me tiennent tous les jours, ce chef rusé veut toujours me persuadé que cest pour la conservation des effets, et de la vie même des français, s'il Blâme les voyages du haut du missouris. la perte des effets du Sr jacques deglise par la main des poncas, et des miens par celle des scioux, donne un grand po'd a ses raisons, quoique le veritable motif de son mécontentement soit de n'avoir put luy même nous en arraches la plus belle et la plus forte partie, si nous eussions arrêter cher [chez] luy.

le sieze février deux des engagés du Sr jean munier ont partis pour alles cher [chez] luy.

j'ai envoyé deux de mes gens avec eux chercher une lettre a moi Ecrite par ma femme et apporté par le Sr Salomon.<sup>68</sup> j'ai prémedité de prouver aux mahas et aux poncas par cette lettre, que les fusils pris par les derniers, entre les mains du Sr jacques deglise, m'appartenoit, leur disant que n'y ayant point de fusils a village français a mon départ, j'avois

<sup>67</sup> Oto.

<sup>68</sup> Solomon Petit.

recommandé au Sr Jacques deglise [de] m'en apporter vingt six, s'il y en avoit d'arrivé lorsqu'il partiroit. je ne sçai si cette ruse me réussira.

le huitième du mois de mars le grand chef des mahas et toute sa famille est partis d'icy pour retourner à son village sans me donner une seule peau, disant que sa pelleteri[es] étoit en cache à son village, mais je n'espere rien de [ce] coquin pour deux cent vingt trois livres, prix de facture.

le neuf sont arrivés les deux hommes que j'avois envoyé chercher une lettre, accompagné du Sr Salomon et deux autres engagés, avec quelque effets pour acheter des vivres, ayant jeunés la plus grande partie de l'hivers, ne mangeant que des fêveroles sauvages.

le dix les deux grands chef poncas sont arrivés icy (l'un se nomme Kichetabaco,<sup>69</sup> l'autre morrest naugy). je les ai bien Reçu. je leur ai dit que leur pere Espagnols, protecteur de toutes les nations qui habitent le missouris, vouloit leur procurer leur besoins leur envoyant tous les ans une voiture chargée de marchandises pour eux, mais que les mahas, fin et rusés, leur fermoient les chemin, disant que les poncas étoient de mauvais gens, les acusent de vouloir piller et tuer les français qui entroient cher [chez] eux, attribuant les maladie, mortalités,<sup>70</sup> à leurs marchandises, que les seuls mahas étoient les auteurs de leur misere. je les exhortai à bien traites les français partout ou ils les trouveroient, que les intentions de leur pere espagnol étoit d'avoir au Beau chemin partouts ses enfants. je les sollicitai à bien payer les effets qu'ils avoient pris au Sr Jacques deglise.

je leur assurai en leur montrant la lettre que le Sr Salomon m'avoit apporté, que les fusils m'appartenoit, que d'ailleurs la poudre et les autres effets qu'ils avoient pris, sortoient du même village, et de la même maison, que les miens; qu'ainsi ils feroient tres bien de me donner les pelleteries qu'ils luy destinoient en payement, et de ne pas les trafiquer [trafiguer] ni à d'autres français ni aux mahas, ce qui arriveroit infailliblement s'ils ne me les donnoient par le Sr Jacques, ne pouvant être de sitôt de retour à leurs village; que s'ils nous faisoient pleurer les mahas seroient contents, et confirmeroit leurs mechantes paroles contre eux.

Et qu'au contraire, s'ils nous rendoient le coeur content, cela prouveroit que tous les mauvais discours des mahas sont faux, que leur pere Espagnols seroit satisfait deux et qu'ils pouvoient être assurés que les français, apprenant leur bonne conduite, feroient tous leurs efforts pour parvénir à leur village, leur apportés leurs besoins.

je les conscillai de fermer les oreilles aux discours flatteurs et rusés des mahas, qui ne tendoient qu'à les Brouiller avec nous et conséquemment les rendre malheureux.

il me dirent que tous les mauvais discours des mahas étoient faux; qu'il n'y avoit rien sur la terre de meilleures que les hommes Blancs et leur marchandises; que le chef des mahas étoit un méchant que [qui] les trompoit toujours et les rendoit digne de pitié; que je prouverois moi-même lorsque j'entrerois dans leur village s'ils étoient tels qu'ils les accusoient; qu'ils étoient véritable qu'ils avoient pris vingt quatre fusils, poudre et Balles, à Jacques deglise; que la nécessité, voyant que les mahas arretoit toujours leur voiture, le leur avoit fait faire; qu'en outre c'étoit

<sup>69</sup> "Big Tobacco". Cf. Shudegacheh ("The Smoker"), the chief of the Ponca whom Prince Maximilian of Wied describes (*Early Western Travels*, XXII, 283, 284), and whose portrait Catlin and Bodmer both painted.

<sup>70</sup> The Ponca were almost exterminated a few years later by the smallpox brought them by traders.

pour se venges des ricaras qui les avoient mal reçus et voulus tuer lorsqu'ils avoient étés en parole l'étés dernierre cher [chez] eux, que les considerés de leur nation avoient determienes de bien faire payés leur jeunes gens, ce qu'il avoient pris; qu'ils ne seroit détaché aucunes pelteries que le payement ne fut complét; que lorsqu'ils seroient tous arrivés a leur village, il tiendroient une assemblée a ce sujet; quil me recom-mandoient, aussitôt la navigation libre, de my rendre promptement; qu'ils croyoient que je serois content.

ils représentés qu'ils étoient denués de poudre, que cela seul occasion-neroit peut estre leurs gens a détournés des pelteries pour en avoir des Mahas. pour les encouragés a conserver leur pelleteries, je leur ai promis que s'ils me payoient bien, je leur en vendrois quelque peu, ainsi que drap et couverte Blanche que javois réservé pour eux. pors lors ils ont parus contants et m'ont priés avec instance de les leur conserver. les mahas font tout leur possible pour les détournes de payes ce qu'ils ont pris a jacques déglise. cet hommes a fait voir aux poncas les cinq medailles, et les cinq pavillons dont il est chargé pour les chef mendannes. cette vüe a donnée une fort jalousie a ces deux nations cy et occasioné bien des mauvaises paroles contre nous.

En parlant avec ces chef poncas de la nation ricaras, cher [chez] qui ils ont été l'etée dernierre, ils m'ont appris que cinq français qui étoient restés cher [chez] cette nation ils n'en avoient vus que deux; que les ris<sup>71</sup> leur avoient dit que les trois autres français étoient partis, il y avoit un temps considerable, avec sept considerés de leur nation, pour aller en parole cher [chez] des peuples sauvage tres éloignes; que n'étant point revenus, il croyoient qu'ils avoient étés tués, et quil se dispoient d'aller tous en guerre pour venges leurs morts.

le onze le chef gros lapin est partis d'icy avec toute sa famille. le douses, trente loge des poncas sont arrivés sur l'autre rive du missouris vis avis de nous. le treise jay été les visites. ils mont Bien festinés. le Sr Salomon at achaté Beaucoup de viande seches, a bon marché.

j'ay proposé au chef de cette Bande de faire payes ceux qui avoit de mes fusils. il n'at point voulu; distant qu'il falloit qu'ils furent tous rassemblés a leur village pour cela.

le quatorse ils ont levés le camp et sont partis. jay envoyé pierre Berges, qui entend passablement leur Langue, avec eux, luy ayant donné quelques morceaux de tabac pour faire fumer les considerés de chagues Bande et le encouragé a me conserve leur pelteries.

je suis fort impatient de ne pouvoir partir dicy promptement; les glace couvrent encorre la surface des eaux. nous avons icy un hivers tres douce. il n'a tombé que quatre poudes de neige qui n'a duré que dix jours.

mais les eaux du missouris sont si Basses que la glace ne peut se détachés sans en montange.

le 21 les glaces du missouris ce sont dissoudé et ont passées. le vingt deux et vingt trois toute la journée j'ai pris le partis de faire descendre deux hommes avec le peu de pelteries que j'ay retirés des mahas et des poncas. le Sr jean munier mat promis par le Sr Salomon de faire cajeu de pelteries ensemble.

je remonte aux nations d'en haut avec six hommes, le peu de pelteries que jenvoye ne val[a] nt pas la peine d'envoyer plus de monde.

a mon arrivée aux ricaras, et aux mendanes, si je peu passer les premiers librement, je traiterai les pelteries qui se trouveront cher [chez] cette nations et je vous les enverrai par trois des engagés le plus tot

<sup>71</sup> Arikara.

possible. si je vois le Sr jacques déglise, comme je l'esperre, en luy fournissant deux ou trois hommes, s'il le faut, ma grande pirogue, et une autre qu'il aurat sans doute faite cet hyvers, suffiront pour descendre ses pelteries et les miennes, et pour lors je me propose de garder sa vielle voiture, pour naviguer ou il sera necessaires.

j'envoye d'icy deux voiture petites que mes gens on[t] fait cet hyvers. il n'a pas été possible d'en faire de plus grand ni de meilleurs. il n'y [a] aucun bois dans ces endroits c'y propice pour en faire.

si le Sr jean munier ne descent q'une des mes voitures j'ay recommandés a mes gens de mettre l'autre en cache dans quelqu'endroit remarquable, ou les deuxièmé qui descendront pourront la prendre en passant.

cecy n' a point eû d'effets. jay pris partis, d'envoyés la grande pirogue et une autre petite, me servant d'une moyenne voiture que mes gens ont fait cette hyvers pour montes. les menaces et les mauvaise paroles tenues par le Sr Salomon a son depart, a mes gens, ayant recommandé a deux hommes employés du Sr jean munier pour traiter aux poncas, de faire un canot de peaux pour descendre leurs pelteries et de laisser mes deux hommes sur la grève avec leurs voiture et effets, m'ont fait craind[r]e qu'il ne persuadas au Sr jean munies de me jouer quelque mauvais tour et que les deux hommes ne se trouvassent embarrassés ne pouvant descendre seuls.

c'est pourquoi je me suis déterminé d'envoyer trois hommes vous menes les pelleteries que j'ai retiré des mahas et des poncas. je n'ai pus partir de mon hyvernement que le vingt cinq de mars, et je suis arrivée le même jour auprès du village des poncas; le lendemain jay entré cher [chez] eux. leurs cabanes sont bâties a environ une demy lieux du missouris.

le temps ne me permet pas de vous faire une narrations emplifiée du caractere de cette nation.

je vous dirai pour le certain que ce sont de grands coquins. ils copient exactement les mahas dans toutes leur manieres dagir avec les français, achetant les marchandises a leur volntée, les pren[a]nt de force, quand on les refuse; les chef principalement sont des pilleurs de marchandises. jay fait une tres mauvaise traitte avec eux. ces deux chef m'ont pris la moitié du draps et couverte Blanches que j'y avois portés, a trois peaux de chevreuils, la couverte, petite et grand peaux également, un sac contenant vingt cinq livres de poudre et un dittes de soixante livres, des Balles; et ne m'ont donné que trente peaux. ce sont des gens qui visitent toutes les effets generablement, et prennent ce qui leur convient, au prix qu'il veulent. toutes les représentations et plaintes que lon puisse faire ne font aucun effet sur leur mauvais coeurs. il nous repettent sans cesse que les mahas nous font pire qu'eux. les derniers ne cessent de les mal conseilles, les instruisant a fond de toutes leurs ruse et fourberies pour rapines les français; ceux cy ne suivent que trop leur avis.

ce grand coquin de chef mahas surtout, est écouté par les poncas comme un oracle. ils est leur dieu tutelaire, lui et les autres chef de cette nation on[t] fait tous leurs efforts pour empêcher les poncas de me payer les fusils pris entre les mains du Sr jacques déglise. tous les jours, étant campés près de nous, ils envoioient des messager débitant des mensonges, et tenir de mauvais discours contre moi; je reponssai autant qu'il m'etoit possible, tous ces mensonges et propos, faisant entendre aux poncas que les mahas ne cherchoient qu'a les tenir miserables, les privant de français pour les forcer de leur donnees leurs pelleteries.

ils convenoient de la veritée de mes paroles, et agissoient toujours selon les conseils de leur dieu tutelaire, le grand chef des mahas. ce mechant homme, apprenant que les poncas ne me traitoit pas tout a fait aussi mal qu'il le desiroit, at eut la malignité d'envooyes un dernier missager, rapporter une calomnie sinistre qu'elle a fa[i]lli m'occasionnes bien du mal par cette nation.

il les a fait avertir, comme étant leur pere, et ne cherchant que leur conservation, que le nommé salom petit en passent cher [chez] luy, luy avoit assuré que je devois faire mourir les poncas et les scioux par de mauvaise medecines que je jetterois dans le feu, les premiers pour avoir pillé le Sr jacques déglise, et les derniers pour m'avoir arraché ma marchandises, et que Salomon l'avoit sollicité de se retirer promptement, luy et ses gens, d'aupres des poncas, crainte d'estre enveloppés dans cette maladie contagieuse que je voulois jeter sur les premiers, disant que partous les livres qu'il m'avoit vû, et les ecrits qu'ils m'avoit vû faire cet hyvers, il connoissoit que jetois un grand homme de médecine.

juger, messieurs, jusqu'a quel point cet chef pousse la ruse et la fourberie contre nous.

cette nouvelle rapporté sur le soir causa un grand trouble cher [chez] ce peuple, remplis de faux prejudé et superstitions. on entendit dans le camp que l'arangue et chanson de morts. chef, viellards et considerés vinrent me demandé raison de cette nouvelle. je les ai persuadé du contraire par mils raisons et preuves, qu'il seroit trop long de rapporter icy. enfin leur terreur sest évanuie dans lesprit au moins des principaux.

car je crois bien que la majeure partie de ce peuple credule, superstitieux, et mechant, croit toujours, sur la parole du chef des mahas, que suis capable de les faire tous m[ourir]. aussi depuis le moment de cette nouvelle je n'ai osé toucher ni livre, ni papiers, ni plume devant des gens si Borné.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*The Influence of Monarchs: Steps in a New Science of History.*

By FREDERICK A. WOODS, M.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1913. Pp. xiii, 422.)

WE have to do here with a new science to which the author has given the name of "historiometry" and with a new philosophy of history which he calls the "gametic interpretation of history". The meaning of these terms may be made clear in their connection with the central thesis of the book, which is stated as follows in the preface: "Only very rarely has a nation progressed in its political and economic aspects, save under the leadership of a strong sovereign. It is indeed strange that so plain and simple a truth has never been dwelt upon before. There are, moreover, cogent reasons for believing that the monarchs have, to a very large extent, caused the changing conditions."

This truth emerges, in the author's opinion, from his survey of the history of fourteen countries of Europe during a long period, in general from the tenth century to the French Revolution. He grades the 368 rulers of this period according to "intellectual qualities", as superior, inferior, and ordinary or doubtful, and to each he assigns the mathematical symbol of plus, minus, or plus-minus. These valuations are based upon what historians have said of them, upon the "usual or standard authorities". "Historians may and do disagree upon minor points", says Dr. Woods, "but not often upon essentials"—a very optimistic statement, *couleur de rose*.

Having graded the monarchs, the author then grades the political and economic condition of the country during each reign. The two sets of marks are then presented in parallel columns and the results show that "strong, mediocre, and weak monarchs in about 70 per cent. of the cases" are associated with strong, mediocre, and weak periods. In other words history reveals a "very high correlation between mentalities of rulers and the conditions of their realms".

Having shown the fact of this correlation the author seeks its explanation, and he finds it in this—that the monarchs have caused the conditions, "the only explanation consistent with all the observations" (chap. XVII.). The reason for this is that the monarchs of Europe are a select and vastly superior breed, "a biologically isolated class" and that this superiority is due to heredity, not to environment or opportunity. Heredity is "the master key of history". The influences of environment are "trivial, illusive and difficult to measure". "For this view of history which postulates the extreme importance of heredity and



selection—this breeder's view of history as one might call it" Dr. Woods proposes the phrase "gametic interpretation of history". "The true interpretation of history must hinge upon the gametes" (or germ-cells) "and the laws of history will be found to be but a part of the laws which govern all organic life" (p. 303).

Dr. Woods's book is one of marked originality and of confident tone. It will probably provoke the historian, as every other "philosophy" of history has done, to repeated dissent, to frequent interrogation. He will regard this interpretation of the development of Europe during several centuries as pronounced over-simplification. The monarchs may be the result of the pedigrees—we will leave that to the proper authorities to decide—but if they are and if they are vastly superior to other men does it follow that the "conditions are the result of the monarchs"?

Again, probably most historians will regard Dr. Woods's method of dividing up these centuries into little sections, according to the length of the reigns, as artificial, and any attempt to grade them as if they were distinct units, as if they did not fuse and blend into each other, is a dubious proceeding. "The conditions of one reign do not sensibly influence the conditions of the next" is one of the hazardous assertions of this book (p. 249).

In reading this volume one inevitably wonders what Dr. Woods will do with Napoleon, "the most entirely known as well as the ablest of historic men", as Lord Acton says. Well, he adopts him! "Even Napoleon belongs in part to royalty, since the great *parvenu* augmented the strength of royalty inasmuch as he became royal and allied his family with royalty" (p. 261). This is quite in the vein of Napoleon himself, who was wont to assert that his *coups d'état* and plebiscites were in the interest of the Republic.

Of course, in a period of monarchical government monarchs exerted an influence. But that they exerted the overwhelming influence here indicated, that they "caused the conditions", or that they were in any great number the able men our author is inclined to think them would probably not be readily accepted by historians, at least without far greater proof than is vouchsafed. One would the more readily incline offhand to agree with Gibbon, who passed many of them in review and who expressed the opinion that "the generality of princes, if they were stripped of their purple and cast naked into the world, would inevitably sink to the lowest rank of society without a hope of emerging from their obscurity". Gibbon may have been unduly pessimistic but at least he was an accomplished interpreter of history and a connoisseur in monarchs.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

*The Municipalities of the Roman Empire.* By JAMES S. REID, Litt.D., Professor of Ancient History, University of Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press. 1913. Pp. xv, 548.)

THIS volume is the product of a course of lectures originally delivered in the University of London, and afterward at the Lowell Institute.

Boston, and in Columbia University, New York. The object of the work is "to provide students with a survey of the Roman Empire, regarded in one of its most important aspects, that of a vast federation of commonwealths, retaining many of the characteristics of the old so-called 'city-state'". In the opinion of the author the teaching and the writing of Roman history have concentrated attention on the province to the neglect of the municipality. He believes, further, "that the residuary impression of the ancient world left by a classical education comprises commonly the idea that the Romans ran, so to speak, a sort of political steam-roller over the ancient world".

It would be unjust, however, to writers and teachers of Roman history to allow all these declarations to remain unchallenged. There is a goodly number of works on Roman history and institutions from which we may learn that the province was little more than an aggregate of states; and certainly Seeck, for example, in his *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt*, has preceded Professor Reid in giving due prominence to the municipia. Furthermore, it has been widely known, written, and taught that, far from enforcing a steam-roller policy, Rome preferred as a rule to leave local institutions much as she found them. Whatever, too, may be the state of instruction in England, American teachers for many years have been treating of the municipalities in the light in which Professor Reid understands them. One prominent thesis of his work, however, that the empire was "a vast federation of commonwealths", though several times repeated (*cf.* p. 44), remains unproved.

After an introductory chapter the author proceeds to trace the history of the town in Italy from the earliest times known to the archaeologist. Next, having given several pages to the early growth of the city of Rome, he describes the expansion of her power over Italy in so far as it affected the cities, whose history he then follows to the end of the republic. Especial attention is given to the changes in the municipia effected by Gaius Gracchus, Sulla, and Caesar. The so-called *Lex Julia Municipalis*, he seems to conclude, is not the work of Caesar but "three portions of three different laws", put together, for some unknown reason, by the citizens of Heraclea. Possibly the author might gain something from the sober treatment of this subject by E. Pais, *Circa l'Età e la Natura della 'Lex Latina di Eraclea'* (Rome, 1911).

For the imperial period Professor Reid divides the empire into great sections, or groups of provinces, and follows each section separately from beginning to end. In view of the multitude of municipal units under investigation, a treatment of the kind, though the opposite of synthetic, seems unavoidable. Some degree of unity, however, is added by the chapters on Internal Administration (XIII.), The Process of Decay (XIV.), and Social Aspects (XV.). The volume closes with an excellent index.

There can be no doubt that the book is the result of great industry, and that it makes available for the first time in English an enormous

mass of information on the municipalities. The effect will be to add interest to these most vital elements of imperial life, and for this reason the author deserves our thanks.

The value of the work, however, is greatly lessened by defects in its preparation. One serious fault is the intolerable style. The following is a characteristic passage (p. 476):

An interesting general regulation was established by the *senatus-consultum Hosidianum* of the year 56 A. D., which checked the destruction of buildings in the municipalities without provision being made for their reconstruction. In the fundamental law of Tarentum there is a provision that no structure is to be pulled down excepting for the purpose of replacing it by a better, without the permission of the Roman senate, and if this rule is violated, anyone may sue the offender for the value of the building, which will be forfeited to the municipality.

Worse than the long, rambling structure of these sentences is the fact that phrases and subordinate clauses are misplaced, to the confusion of the thought.

A defect perhaps even more serious than obscure, misleading phraseology is the total absence of references to sources and authorities. The idea that students are to receive in open-mouthed awe the teachings of the infallible master, unsupported by visible evidence, has long been obsolete, at least in America. In our universities one of the chief aims of instruction is to prepare the student to make his own independent way among authorities and sources. For "the higher teaching of students", therefore, the volume in its present condition will be of little service. The same absence of evidence, while depriving the book of nearly all its value as a work of reference or as a help to scholars, makes it extremely difficult to estimate the author's accuracy of statement or soundness of interpretation. His ability as a scholar is undoubted; and yet a careful examination of certain chapters has convinced the reviewer that the word of the author cannot be considered so authoritative as to need no basis of evidence. If, however, Professor Reid will prepare a new edition in more precise and intelligible language and with full references to his sources of information, he will do a great service to scholarship and to higher education in the field; otherwise the work will have to be done by someone else.

GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD.

*Gnostiques et Gnosticisme: Étude Critique des Documents du Gnosticisme Chrétien aux II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> Siècles.* Par Eugène de Faye, Directeur d'Études à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. [Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Religieuses, vol. 27.] (Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1913. Pp. ii, 480.)

M. FAYE's intention was not to investigate the origins of Gnosticism or to construct its total history. He has undertaken a critical study of the documents. Since the accounts in the Church Fathers are notoriously prejudiced and distorted, he will rely primarily on surviving fragments

of Gnostic writings and gain from them an impression which will provide a critical control of the representations of their opponents and allow a distinction between the original teachings of masters like Basilides or Valentine and the views developed later by their adherents. It may be possible then to ascertain the manner in which a leading Gnostic sect was born and developed and to have thereby a guide for the study of sects known only by ecclesiastical polemics against them. In this method M. Faye rests his claim to any degree of novelty or originality. His work contains a systematic criticism of the notable work of Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (1907), who is viewed as too dependent on the Patristic use of bizarre and contradictory elements found in indiscriminated sources. Bousset, moreover, tends to find resemblances, to generalize, to reduce to a few types. M. Faye excels in distinctions, in detecting differences, in individualizing. As here individualized and studied from actual or virtual sources, Basilides, Valentine, Heracleon, and Ptolemy are found to be essentially Christian moralists with a certain bold bent to speculation. Criticism of the ecclesiastical accounts reduces the amount and complexity of these symbolic speculations and shows these Gnostics at least as more essentially Christian religionists. It is probable that M. Faye will find assent in the main on this point. In the case of Marcion also he is successful in opposing Bousset and in intensifying Harnack's appreciation of Marcion as a Biblical exegete rather than a philosopher.

While this interesting application of historical criticism results in some clear gain, it is far from clear that the total result is acceptable. Apart from some incidental observations M. Faye ignores the question of non-Christian origin and analogies, and he tends therefore to conceive the process as beginning with comparatively dignified and temperate Christian thinkers and degenerating through the puerilities and crudities of succeeding generations of inferior intellectual power. He leaves the impression of deriving school from school within the horizons of Christianity. The nobler earlier groups were driven to speculation by their acute interest in the problem of sin and redemption. Their successors offer variations of their teaching. About 200 A. D. there is a rapid decomposition and *mélange* of these circles, the adoption of sacramental rites from other syncretistic cults, a loss of thought, a tendency to the irrational and occult, and to licentiousness.

On the other hand Bousset studied Gnosticism by a *religionsgeschichtliche Methode*, keenly interested in the sources of the speculative and mythological conceptions adopted by Gnostics. The net result of his study is a picture of a syncretistic pagan movement, with a medley of obscure Oriental origins, coming in contact first with Judaism and establishing relations with its conceptions. Then, as instanced by Cerinthus and Saturnilus, it makes borrowings from Christianity and reaches a higher metaphysical expression in the more Christian Basilides and Valentine. But the whole mongrel movement sweeps on and finds other less noble expressions which are to be analyzed and understood not with

reference to Valentine but to the general background. This total view, based on researches not only of Bousset but of Reitzenstein, Usener, Dieterich, and Cumont, can hardly be supplanted by that offered by Faye, though the latter's critical discriminations provide improvements in detail.

Faye's treatment comes to a decisive test in the consideration of the group described in Irenaeus I. xxx. Here a feminine principle (the Mother, the Holy Spirit) has a rôle analogous to the Logos. Faye styles this circle *Les Adeptes de la Mère*, meaning that they *originated* this conception (ca. 160) and that all other groups supporting it are subdivisions of this sect (e. g. Barbelognostics) or are borrowers from them (e. g. Marcosians). Faye refuses to ask what influenced them so to enthrone this feminine principle and simply insists that the circle appears after Basilides and Valentine. They spontaneously introduce this new element (the Mother) into a Valentinian complex of ideas. But here Faye's love of discriminating differences leaves him. It is difficult to view the system as a variant expression of Valentine's or to regard the Barbelognostics as a mere sub-variety of the circle of Irenaeus I. xxx. Both the latter are composite systems and betray a common background in a triadic conception (Father, Mother, Son). In the system of Marcus, equally composite, the notion of the divine Mother is the basis of a sacrament, and presumably then old, not new. These various propagandists of composite systems are contemporary and alike imply an original and simpler Gnostic type in which the heavenly Mother is a prominent element. Bousset tried to show that the Valentinian speculation also must have rested on this original triadic conception and that the original type is explicable from ancient Babylonian and Persian sources. The reviewer is convinced that Bousset's position is secure and that it furnishes the clue to this tangled evolution.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*Englische Verfassungsgeschichte bis zum Regierungsantritt der Königin Victoria.* Von JULIUS HATSCHEK, Professor an der Universität Göttingen. [Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte, herausgegeben von G. von Below und F. Meinecke.] (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1913. Pp. x, 761.)

DR. HATSCHEK is no tyro in the study of the English constitution. His work on English constitutional law (1905-1906) was recognized as a very valuable exposition, and its second volume, on administration, as an important contribution to English political science. Other lesser works show long and careful study in this field. Since the publishing of his *Staatsrecht*, he appears to have been working back through the enormous material incident to a study of English government from the

earliest times, and now appears this comprehensive constitutional history. His professed ambition is to do for this generation of Germans something of the service of Gneist for the preceding generation, to embody the results of recent scholarship—especially the work of Maitland, Vinogradoff, and Liebermann—and also to utilize the newly discovered sources of information. Dr. Hatschek knows the sources, and, upon occasion, writes straight from them; if something has been left undone he is quite likely to see it and do it himself. Moreover a new viewpoint is declared: Gneist was chiefly concerned to know how England attained self-government; Hatschek studies all English institutions in the light of parallel developments in Germany and France, and, more or less consciously, under a juristic *Tendenz*. He believes that he furnishes much not to be found in the English manuals, and he is right. Throughout he misses no opportunity to illustrate by foreign example, and he does this with the sure hand of a master. Free from traditional English limitations and methods, he places emphasis at will. Perhaps this is not always done wisely, but one welcomes the remarkable series of sections on legal history, finance, the church, and the army; also the attention paid to the minutiae of administrative method, the painstaking study of officials throughout (that of the Secretary of State is especially enlightening), the bold grappling with all the detailed perplexities of borough and parish. The feudal point of view is often prominent and the book should, in general, be classed with those which find a feudal origin for much that is in England's constitutional law and custom. The author is merciless in detail and in his use of a technical vocabulary, and generally takes for granted that his reader knows a great deal about the subject.

The main scheme of division consists of four parts (*Abschnitte*) divided into about thirteen sections each. The first two parts, running to 1485, comprise little less than half the book. The old dilemma between topics and chronology is met with no unusual success. The first section of each part gives a thin chronological outline that is not full enough to be informing and yet occasions repetition. Then follow sections dealing with classes, king, Parliament, local administration, judiciary, finance, etc. The strength of the book lies distinctly in the modern half. On the Continental side, the author appears to know his medieval institutions and law as well as his modern. But on the English side this is not so, and a mass of good material is made much less serviceable than it deserves to be through mistakes, omissions, and poor judgment in the matter of proportion and emphasis. Errors that are old acquaintances reappear: Hengist and Horsa are mentioned as historical personages (p. 2); William I. is made to scatter the fiefs in order to weaken feudalism (p. 15). The speech attributed to Hubert Walter on the occasion of John's coronation is again seriously used for 1199: it is stated that Paris, a *Zeitgenosse*, ascribed it to the archbishop and hence it represents a conception of the time (p. 66). Paris was born



probably the year following. The author's mind is still haunted with a *commune concilium* (a term important enough to stand in the brief index) which he finds in article XIV. of Magna Carta and elsewhere (pp. 23, 209). The jury is distinctly slighted; the account to Edward I. would be unintelligible to one not already knowing much of the subject. The analysis of the first article of the Assize of Clarendon is altogether confusing, article XIV. is not mentioned, and neither here nor later is there any discussion of the origin of the grand jury (pp. 123-126).

The Assize of Clarendon, he says, "introduced the jury for criminal cases, and reserved all the greater crimes exclusively for the royal jurisdiction", a fair specimen of the astonishingly loose statements which sometimes occur (p. 17). The element of election in the royal succession is not well understood either before or after the Conquest, and is greatly overemphasized; no real analysis of the different instances is attempted (pp. 55-56). The discussion of the structural origin of the House of Commons is especially inadequate. It is assumed at the outset that the representative principle inhered in the county court and that this was early brought into connection with consent to taxation. Yet the only case examined is as late as 1337. It is not convincing to be told that though this came long after the Model Parliament it is nevertheless *für die frühere Zeit belchrend*. On concentration, the origin of the assembly feature, scarcely anything is said: it saved the trouble of sending commissioners to the counties and men had the habit of coming to the king's court on judicial business. Not an instance is examined; our old friends, 1213 and 1254, are ignored (pp. 209-216). Throughout this part of the subject the element of royal initiative is not appreciated. In support of his view that consent to taxation was the fundamental cause of a central, representative assembly, the author cites Riess's well-known monographs which attempt to prove the exact opposite. It is inconceivable that a German scholar should not know this; but in some way the citation was introduced and has been left standing (p. 209). Such perversions give one an odd feeling of insecurity. On Parliament's acquisition of the taxing and legislative powers there is little that is objective, no citation or analysis of cases. There is full discussion of the new forms of taxation and of statutes, and then it is taken for granted that Parliament controlled taxation and made statutes (pp. 223-225). Here and in many places the *doctor juris* is prominent. There are many isolated slips. The Salisbury oath is derived from an Anglo-Saxon precedent, and seems to be regarded as both a feudal and a public oath (pp. 15-16). Scutage is made to originate in 1166 (p. 17). Edward I.'s reign is stated to have begun on the day of his father's death (p. 67). There is no space for more illustrations, but very many more are at hand.

The bibliographies which head the sections show a remarkably full and appreciative knowledge of the literature. Yet there can be no doubt that if the author had read less and with more reflection he would have

written the early part of his book better. And there are, in the lists, sins of inclusion and omission. The book is shamefully marred from beginning to end by typographical errors. These are largely, but by no means wholly, in the English proper names, titles, and quotations.

ALBERT BEEBE WHITE.

*The Loss of Normandy, 1189-1204: Studies in the History of the Angevin Empire.* F. M. POWICKE, M.A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XVI.] (Manchester: The University Press. 1913. Pp. xix, 603.)

THE title of Professor Powicke's book hardly does justice to its scope. It naturally implies a narrative history of the struggle of Philip Augustus to obtain Normandy and of the Angevin kings to keep possession. It is much more than this, for probably one-half is concerned with questions which in a broad sense are constitutional. A brief introduction discusses authorities. The first chapter, also short, on the Angevin empire in France as a whole, emphasizes the importance to the empire of the possessions which had been brought together by the counts of Anjou. Chapters II. and III. deal respectively with common elements in the administration of the Angevin empire and the administration of Normandy. The term administration is used in a wide sense covering nearly all the operations of government. Chapter IV., King Richard and his Allies, is introductory to the narrative proper, and contains a discussion of some institutional topics like homage. With chapter V., Richard I. and Normandy, the narrative history of the struggle begins, and chapter VI., the Loss of Normandy, continues the history to John's withdrawal to England. Chapter VII., the Norman Defences, deals at length with the castle and its place both in military organization and in administration. Chapter VIII., War and Finance, is almost wholly constitutional; chapter IX. on Philip's treatment of Normandy is in part constitutional; and chapter VI., on the consequences of the wars in Normandy is constitutional and social. Appendixes and long notes discuss important topics, among them the truce of God; parage; the Norman bailiwicks; certain Norman officers; King John and Arthur of Brittany, reprinting the author's article in the *English Historical Review*, which is a strong argument for a trial of John on the charge of murder, but rather doubtful legally if John lost Normandy by the supposed first decision; and a detailed account of the division of the baronage resulting from the loss of Normandy, family by family, or fief by fief, which is of great value for reference, and would be of greater value if the names had been included in the index.

A book of this scope, treating of these topics, necessarily touches the feudal system at many points, and must refer in detail to feudal law and customs. In these matters Professor Powicke shows a breadth and accuracy of knowledge hitherto unusual in writers in this field. In a

single but attentive reading of the book I have not noted any statement of fact which I am prepared to say is incorrect. I should like in some places to change the emphasis or perspective, as I shall indicate below, but these are matters of interpretation, not statements of fact. Such a study as is here presented of Norman and French feudal practices, with full recognition of their bearing on English problems, is of great promise for the future of English institutional history. The author's point of view and interpretation of the general situation may be indicated by the following quotations which are read by the present reviewer with great pleasure: "The exact nature of ducal authority, the precise amount of Scandinavian law in Normandy after the settlement of 912, become questions of less moment when it is proved that before the conquest of England Normandy had become a highly centralized feudal State, with financial, judicial and military institutions well defined" (p. 2); "its survival [wardship] in Normandy is a clear sign that Norman society was not merely feudal but essentially and logically feudal" (p. 56); "It is not paradoxical to say that feudalism in Normandy was worked out in such a logical and systematic way because feudal relations were regarded as the material of the state rather than as the end of its being" (p. 59). The account of the small curia, as on page 85, of the importance of contract in the feudal régime, as on page 357, and of the decline of feudalism at the beginning of the thirteenth century, on page 366, are all in line with the best present opinion, as is indeed the whole book.

That feudalism was more logical in its development in Normandy than in England hardly seems proved by the instances cited of land alienation and the application of primogeniture. It would seem natural that as Normandy and England became separate each should go its own way in the development of feudal principles. The statute *De Donis*, trial by peers as applied to the House of Lords, the exclusion of the official class, as official, from the House of Lords, and of the House of Commons from the judgment-making power of that house, which made impeachment possible, are striking instances of logical development in England. The perfectly logical development side by side of great council and small council down to 1911 is evidence also of the highly logical character of the Anglo-Norman state.

In what is said (p. 121) of the relation between treaties and the feudal contract, I should like to emphasize more sharply the clearness with which this fact shows the contemporary understanding of the contractual character of feudalism, but not to modify the statements otherwise. See *The Origin of the English Constitution* (p. 205). It is the distinction between different kinds of contracts which is vague, as the author says. It may be added that it is rather characteristic of the feudal age that distinctions are often vague, or even seem to disappear entirely, between things which are, any one of them, sharply enough defined when a different occasion arises. Robert of Gloucester's dealings with Stephen might be added as a good example from England of the

vassal's making a treaty with his lord. If the word could always be confined strictly to this narrow sense when used in that connection, there would be no objection to calling the coronation charters and Magna Carta treaties. See *Origin* (p. 212, note 6). The importance of homage in the feudal contract is very clearly seen (p. 122). In the sentence "Homage in the narrow sense did not constitute the vassal relation", I understand homage in the narrow sense to mean homage without fealty. But fealty alone, which is of very frequent occurrence, did not constitute the vassal relation. Nor did homage and fealty taken together in every case. This is plainly stated later by Littleton in regard to socage tenures, "car homage per foy ne fait pas service de Chivaler" (II. v. c. 117), and this is true of all earlier periods, at least after homage began to be taken of common freeholders. Fealty was of course in their case the essential thing and taking this probably led to the addition of homage, but for all their performance of both homage and fealty, their relationship was never the full feudal. Was homage ever taken without fealty? I think not except in the case of the minor (Bracton, f. 79). All the imperfect or incomplete feudal relationships in the later stages of feudalism, the *milites de familia*, the *barones domestici*, the fief without full vassal obligations including serjeanty tenures viewed from this side, need greatly more careful investigation especially for England.

In regard to Professor Powicke's objection to Vuitry's remark that the financial régime was the outgrowth of feudal institutions and not of political sovereignty, a distinction must be drawn in the history of taxation, as in that of representation, between the origin of the initiating and directing ideas and that of the institutional forms which were used to carry the ideas out. It can hardly be shown, I think, that scutage had much to do with the origin of modern taxation, but that the feudal aid had a decisive influence seems to me certain. John's treatment of the lands of the revolted barons of Poitou (p. 215) seems to have been quite regular. Philip's action in Normandy (p. 415) was based on the same principles. Nor was John's demand of hostages from his barons unwarranted or unusual. John's unusual severity in these matters may very well have been due to the clearness with which he saw that the most difficult problem he had to solve was how to guard against disaffection and treachery. The statement (p. 460) that Arthur might have been rightly hanged at Mirabeau rests on the *de jure* of the reported statement of the pope (M. Paris, II. 659). It is I think an error. John might probably have hanged Arthur, if it had been done on the spot, with less trouble to himself afterwards than his murder caused. Like the hanging of the defenders of a castle, it could hardly have been called murder, but neither act would be *de jure*. Both would be acts of war. There was no legal method of punishing a man except by trial and sentence. In the case cited on page 257, the Marshal does not find mainpernors; he is a mainpernor. Professor Powicke's view of a decisive Angevin influence on Norman administration seems to me hardly proved.

What seems in one respect a rather serious omission, not as affecting accuracy but as affecting completeness, and as regards pitfalls for the unwary, is that no account is given of the curia or of its place in the administrative and legislative system. This is really leaving out the central organ which gave unity to the feudal state. To give this institution its place in the Norman government would not detract from the fame of Henry II. as a lawgiver, for no one can maintain that the curia regis as a body shows any tendency to independent initiative. It probably never acted in legal innovation except on the suggestion of the king or of some high official. In one important way this omission leaves the author's argument less strong than it might be. It leads him to overlook cases where a curia regis (see the *regni sui* of the *Gesta*, I, 194, in one such case) is formed not by the baronage of any one of the states, as would be the normal way, but by bringing together in a single assembly barons from several states acting for all in common. As unions of English and Norman barons, such assemblies both for trials and for the general action of the curia seem to have occurred from an early date. As evidence of treating different feudal states as one state, they are more important than cases of common administration since they ran more directly counter to feudal ideas. The case of legislation in regard to debts which is cited (p. 33, *Gesta*, I, 194) is a notable instance and reference to the apparent composition of this assembly would strengthen the argument. See also Gervase of Canterbury, I, 198. Such an assembly and such action marked out plainly the path which the sovereign ought to follow, if he proposed to unify his dominions, brought together under no theory of a central government or assembly. That Henry did not see the meaning of the step for such a policy shows that he did not fully understand his problem, or in other words that he did not rise above the level of the feudal age. Another omission, which again does not affect accuracy but does completeness, also leaves the contrast between Philip's treatment of his conquests and the conception of their problem by the Angevins less clear than it might be. I refer to the fact that the two senses in which the term "royal domain" was used in France are not brought out clearly in the chapter on Philip and Normandy. The distinction is not overlooked, for in another place (p. 416) it is said that Normandy as a whole became a part of the royal domain, but the chapter deals only with Philip's enlargement of his domain in the narrower, more economic sense, and in general the effect upon the French monarchy of the absorption of these great baronies in the crown is hardly made prominent enough. The Capetian experience with such baronies may easily have led to a clearer understanding of the proper royal policy than anything in England could do, but the character of the Angevin empire ought to have led a statesman of genius to see both the result and the means.

The narrative is given in full detail, more full than by Miss Norgate, as full as by Cartellieri, where the two are parallel to the end of Cartellieri's third volume, but with more emphasis, as would be expected, upon

the Angevin side of events. Mr. Powicke has a high opinion of the ability of both Henry II. and Richard I., and he makes their unusual qualities stand out more clearly, I think, than any one before him, though with full recognition of the fact that they moved within the limits of the feudal world. John is treated with great discrimination. The difficulties under which he labored from treachery are plainly shown. Personally I should like to emphasize a little more his political ability, which it seems to me impossible to deny. Many of his acts with slight change of emphasis or perspective will bear evidence to his intellectual ability, and with no distortion of the facts, for neither interpretation is a matter of record, both are matters of opinion.

Many things which tempt to comment must be passed over. There is pleasant recognition of the services of Professor Haskins in furnishing proof of the character of the Norman government. There is much information on all points of detail. The geographical information which is given is especially noteworthy. Scholars who are interested in any phase of English, as well as Norman history during the period, political, constitutional, genealogical, will find instruction and profit in Professor Powicke's book.

G. B. ADAMS.

*Church and State in the Middle Ages.* The Ford Lectures delivered at Oxford in 1905, by A. L. SMITH. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1913. Pp. 245.)

THIS volume consists of six lectures devoted mainly to the relation of the papacy to England and English affairs during the thirteenth century. The first deals with papal influences, the second with the law of marriage as enunciated by the popes, the third with the temporal state such as the papacy was anxious to have, the fourth with the protests against the abuses growing out of papal interference in church affairs in England, the fifth with the aims of papal policy in the German Empire, and the sixth with the policy of Innocent IV. in particular.

As a work it is not the classic treatment of the struggle between Church and State over their respective powers, but rather a study of selected details illuminating the position of the papacy in its relation to the clergy and state of England, with a brief excursion into the affairs of the German Empire by way of illustration.

In his first lecture, on papal influences, the author shows that the papal curia got into the way of interfering in the church affairs of the various countries of Europe because the popes were being constantly appealed to by the local clergy to settle their bickerings. It is therefore not surprising that the popes began to assume in an active and aggressive way that which at first had been a burden imposed upon them.

Again in the matter of marriage Mr. Smith makes it clear that the people of the Middle Ages were a primitive and sensual lot, and that with all of the inconsistencies to be found in the regulations emanating



from the popes the people were held up to a higher ideal than their own passions would ever have permitted them to follow. That the canonists got the whole subject into the realm of their hairsplitting technicalities was not the fault of the popes and certainly when the state took control of marriage, as in England after Henry VIII., the laws were in many instances not made less absurd (pp. 98-100).

The third and fourth lectures are in essence a very careful study into the historical inaccuracy and unreliability of Matthew Paris's chronicle, especially of those portions where Paris tries to prove that the English clergy of the thirteenth century were anticipating the Reformation in protesting against the *plenitudo potestatis* of the pope. The author certainly makes out a good case in showing that though there were protests against abuses, especially provisions, there was no disposition on the part of the clergy of the thirteenth century to question the pope's power.

The last two lectures are devoted to showing how Innocent IV.'s ambition to have all Italy under his temporal control proved seriously detrimental to the influence of the church. To get funds for his war on the Empire he literally drained the treasuries of the ecclesiastics of Europe and brought on a storm for his successors. "He won by the past of the Papacy, but at the cost of the future" (p. 213).

The author has a delightful style and the book owes much of its readability to an easy use of words, such as: page 177, touched him "in his pocket"; page 205, "promptly ratting to the other side"; page 206, "I O U's"; page 238, "the old gang". He is so impartial in the presentation of his material that it is difficult to determine whether he is Catholic or Protestant—certainly a rare accomplishment even in these days of liberal-minded historians.

JAMES SULLIVAN.

*The Life and Correspondence of Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.* By PHILIP C. YORKE, M.A., Licencié-ès-Lettres of the University of Paris. In three volumes. (Cambridge: University Press; Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1913. Pp. xvi, 685; viii, 598; viii, 653.)

It was Bernard Shaw, was it not, or some such person, who said that the English succeed by virtue of their stupidity? There is doubtless a grain of truth in the remark, although it is not always certain whether the stupidity is quite as genuine as one could wish. When Napoleon, having been voted an extension of his tenure of office, replied that he "was willing to make the additional sacrifice" if the people demanded it, we know perfectly that he is talking bunkum, and we feel that he knows it too. But when a Gladstone or a Pitt assures us that he has at the call of duty reluctantly renounced the delightful tranquillity of a private station in order to serve his country, we are taken in. The Englishman gets away with this sort of thing much better than the Frenchman; he deceives us because, by virtue of always taking himself for granted, he comes in the end to deceive himself.

Lord Chancellor Hardwicke wore the solemn mask more naturally than almost any one; and an elaborate life of the man was welcome if only for the prospect it afforded of seeing him at his ease, divested of his gown and wig. But I confess to have read the three formidable volumes (and glad I am to have it over!) without knowing any better than I did before whether it would be well advised, in some secure retreat, to give his lordship the wink or slyly nudge him in the ribs. Probably not. I am not sure, but I think he would only lift his brows and coldly stare.

One reason why we are left in this pass is that the editor is pitched with the same black stick. He has no more sense of humor than his great ancestor, whom he insists upon passing at his face value; and he becomes doubly perverse from the fact that over the mask which, as an Englishman, he wears quite properly, he has put on another which, as the descendant of the chancellor, he has inherited. Behind this double mask, Mr. Yorke can therefore speak of England's "mission" without batting an eye. "The happiness of a whole age, of a whole nation, of Europe, perhaps of the universe, depended upon the event. Had the Pretender triumphed . . . the imperial history of Great Britain, together with her great mission in the world, must have been blotted out" (I. 432-433).

I have often heard of England's mission, and have hitherto supposed that it was Pitt who was providentially raised up to lead her through the great crisis. But from Mr. Yorke's account it cannot longer be doubted that the lord chancellor was the man. Other men pursued selfish interests, but not the chancellor. That he labored for the conviction of Byng in order to justify Anson, his son-in-law, is a "wicked and horrible calumny"; but "Pitt and his less distinguished followers were, there is no doubt, actuated in their defense of Byng to a great extent by the desire to strike a blow at the government". Other men were mistaken in policy, but the judgments of the chancellor were always sure; so that when England made a false step, it was usually from failure to take his advice, but in so far as his counsels were followed her ways were ways of pleasantness and all her paths were peace. He was, indeed, the very *Zeitgeist* of the century, whose work was always good and whose latest work was best.

And it must be confessed that the many letters, which make the chief value of the work, do not enable us, any better than Mr. Yorke's narrative, to know the man Hardwicke. Even his private letters were written in a public manner. If he was meanly avaricious, if he selfishly loved place and power, if he was ever so little disposed to sacrifice country or party to family interest, you will never find it out from his letters. And if it were so, probably he did not know it himself. The chancellor possessed in wonderful perfection the talent for identifying his own will with the cosmic order; so that what was advantageous for him personally seemed always by some prearranged harmony to be the best of possible courses in the best of possible worlds. It is well known

that after getting rid of the Whigs in 1762 the king proscribed the friends of Newcastle even down to office clerks, while continuing to show marked favor to Hardwicke and his sons. It was a deliberate attempt to make opposition impossible by detaching the Yorkes from the Newcastle interest. And the action of the chancellor had all the appearance of taking the bait: he refused the request of his old friend to go into active opposition, or to use his influence to bring his sons in; to break with the government indeed was not to the advantage of his sons, one of whom retained an ambassadorship, a second, who had himself advised Newcastle to resign, gave up one office only to accept another and refused to vote against the peace, while a third, to the annoyance of the chancellor it must be said, voted for it. The old duke felt himself betrayed and deserted by his best friend at the critical moment, and said so in a bitterly reproachful letter which makes good reading. Yet the chancellor justified himself easily enough: he was too old; without Pitt it was useless, and Pitt would not come in; he disliked opposition on principle—could not well reconcile opposition with his duty to the king—it would lay a kind of indelicacy on his conscience. And after all you don't know. By virtue of always taking himself on trust, the man was probably entirely sincere: such immense dignity could resign and retire and aloofly wait, but it could not scramble. It was said of Gibbon that he could not distinguish between himself and the Roman Empire; Lord Hardwicke seemed sometimes to talk about the preservation of the constitution when he was thinking about the advancement of the Yorkes. He was probably sincere; yet one can't get rid of the feeling that, what with his elaborate profession of duty and conscience and loyalty to the king, and what with his solemn protestation of lack of ability and of influence, there was a strain, the faintest in the world, of Uriah Heep in his make-up.

Of all his protestations, that of possessing little influence was perhaps the most disingenuous. The letters (mainly from the Hardwicke and Newcastle papers) throw a great deal of light on the tangled web of intrigue which makes so much of the political history of England from the fall of Walpole to the peace of Paris; and they make it perfectly clear that the chancellor was the indispensable silent partner of the Pelham interest. He, more than any one, kept the discordant elements together: he was the very father confessor of Newcastle, who must be always running to him for advice or sympathy or forgiveness; he composed the incessant quarrels of the duke and his brother—"carried the bucket between them", as he says, "for many years"; he managed the impossible Pitt, and, through Newcastle, the equally impossible king. "I am quite tired", he cries out on one occasion, "of such unreasonable people and such unreasonable points". And we are quite tired too. But the points—in this case whether Temple should have the Garter—were always threatening to break up the ministry; and the rôle of Hardwicke was to patch up disputes so that it could go on. Under such circumstances,

policy was subordinated to the exigencies of cabinet construction; and if in foreign or domestic affairs the views of Hardwicke were often adopted by the government, it was not so much because they were in themselves the essence of wise statesmanship, but rather because his compromising temper enabled him to frame those measures which every one could be got to agree to because they were not the measures of any one in particular. "The great difficulty", writes Hardwicke apropos of the divergent views of Pelham and Newcastle on the German question, "is how to keep this administration together on any tolerable terms". And indeed the chancellor's statesmanship, of which the editor makes much, was but a device to keep the Pelham interest in power.

Any life of Hardwicke (any work at least like the present which devotes only one chapter out of thirty-two to his work in transforming the law of equity, which is after all his sure title to fame) must have much to say about his life-long friend, Holles, duke of Newcastle; another kind of man altogether, less able certainly, but far more interesting and likable. He loved place and the accidents of power—you don't have to be told that when you read *his* letters. Yet he was not the absurd nonentity with which the letters of Horace Walpole have made us familiar; and it is one of the notable achievements of Mr. Yorke to have presented a sympathetic and convincing portrait of him. Indeed, he reveals himself so fully in his many letters, and they are so much the most interesting letters of all, and he is so much in evidence, so constantly on the stage as it were, that he is almost the hero of the play; I seem, in fact, to have been reading the life of Newcastle rather than the life of Hardwicke. His particular business, it is well known, was to marshal the forces at elections, to distribute the patronage, and to secure loans; but a fact comes out in the letters which is less generally known—namely, that when it was a question of getting the king to consent to something which he had fully made up his mind not to consent to, the duke was the only man to manage it. He was a past master in the art of inducing the king to put his neck under the yoke.

Fortunately, many of these conversations with the king were recounted with excellent skill by the duke in his letters to Hardwicke; and in closing I am tempted to quote the following extract from one of them.

"Well, if Mr. Pitt comes to Court seldom, so much the better; I don't like to see him."—"But, Sir, what will be the consequence if Mr. Pitt is dissatisfied, and his brothers and friends in open opposition?"—"Pitt will not oppose his own measures."—"No, but his friends will oppose everything else, and particularly the affairs of the Treasury; and when such immense sums are to be raised, it is always easy to find out objections."—"Well, lay your scheme before Mr. Pitt; if he does not approve it, let him propose another."—"Perhaps, Sir, a very improper one."—"Well, you then will be justified."—"And the public service, Sir, disappointed. What satisfaction can that be to me? For God's sake, Sir, let me not carry a positive refusal that will ruin everything. Let me tell

Mr. Pitt that your Majesty will consider it for a fortnight."—"Then he will have hopes."—"Yes, Sir."—"If you say anything of that kind, I will disavow you to Mr. Pitt. I tell you, *I will be forced*."—"For God's sake, Sir, don't say so. What an appearance will that have?"—"I told him Mr. Pitt said that his Majesty did not know that he was within two fingers' breadth of passing his reign in quiet and ease, or of not having an easy moment. I had my reason for saying it."—"Why, ay; is not that force?"—"Indeed, Sir, he did not speak of himself, he meant something else; what he meant I know not; he did not mean himself."—"I will be forced. The world shall see how I am used. I will have it known."—"What good, Sir, can arise from thence? Perhaps many may blame Mr. Pitt's pushing it; but at the same time they will be sorry to see your affairs in confusion for such an object."—"All the answer I could get was,—"*I will be forced*" (III. 62).

And he was forced!

CARL BECKER.

*The Life of John Bright.* By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN.  
(Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company; London:  
Constable and Company. 1913. Pp. x, 480.)

JOHN BRIGHT has waited much longer for an adequate biography than either of the two statesmen—Cobden and Gladstone—with whom he was most closely associated; but the delay was worth while since it has secured for Bright so excellent and sympathetic a biographer as Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan. Unless the task had been undertaken by Lord Morley and the biography had completed a trilogy along with the lives of Gladstone and Cobden, it is hard to imagine a better biographer for John Bright than Mr. Trevelyan has proved himself. Born and bred in the Liberal atmosphere and the Liberal traditions of the Manchester School, Mr. Trevelyan, although not personally acquainted with John Bright, is singularly well equipped for the writing of the story of the struggles of the man who was probably the best loved and most widely respected of Victorian statesmen. The departure that he has made in compressing the biography into a single volume will be welcomed by American readers. The result of this compression has been that the later years of Bright's life are treated somewhat scantily. The nineteen years from 1870 to 1889 occupy only fifty-five pages, as compared with the 370 pages devoted to his active political career from the death of his first wife to the end of the fight for the second extension of the franchise. But the biography loses little by this brief treatment of the later years; for all that gives John Bright his outstanding place in British politics belongs to the period before he entered Gladstone's cabinet in 1868, and John Bright would have been almost as important a figure in British history had he died in 1870, instead of surviving until 1889.

During his active political life John Bright was engaged in four great struggles. In three of these he was fighting on behalf of the workingmen of England, and was regarded by them with passionate affection and

loyalty. In one he stood alone, or almost alone, against the nation, and admiration and affection were changed to abuse and obloquy. The touchstone of John Bright's sincerity, of his conscientiousness, and of his courage was applied during the days when he opposed the Crimean War in Parliament, on the platform, and in the press, while the emotional British nation, stirred to a Jingo frenzy, assailed him with floods of abuse, caricatured and vilified him, and burnt him in effigy. Bright opposed the Crimean War because it was foolish as well as because it was wicked; and when the course of events justified his opposition, he quickly regained the popularity and high position which he appeared to have forfeited. His example doubtless fortified Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Lloyd George, when in 1900 they opposed the Boer War, and had to meet attacks and undergo unpopularity very similar to the treatment meted out to Bright and Cobden in 1855 and 1856.

The other great fights of John Bright's political life were the struggle for the repeal of the Corn Laws, the long-continued effort to keep the English nation from openly siding with the Confederacy in the American Civil War, and the contest for the extension of the franchise to the working classes in England. In all these political struggles Bright showed himself rather a critic than a constructive statesman; but a critic was just what England needed when he came on the political stage. For 150 years England had been governed by the aristocracy, and it had become a tradition that only the aristocracy was capable of governing, and that the country owed a deep debt to its landed class for the ability with which its fortunes had been guided from the Revolution of 1688 to the accession of Queen Victoria. It was John Bright who shook the tradition of the governing classes. He and Richard Cobden showed up mercilessly the selfishness of the policy that imposed starvation on the nation for the sake of the rent-roll of the men who controlled both the legislation and the administration of the country. When the struggle for repeal was ended, and the expansion of trade and commerce, and the rise in wages and comfort justified his criticism, it was he who arraigned the stupidity of the government in advocating the cause of slavery in the Southern States, while the working-men with truer instinct stood by the North. Fortified by the victory of 1846 and by the success of the United States in 1864, it was John Bright who challenged the right of the aristocracy to govern the nation. "The class which has hitherto ruled in this country", he said in a speech at Glasgow on October 16, 1866, "has failed miserably. It revels in power and wealth, whilst at its feet, a terrible peril for its future, lies the multitude which it has neglected. If a class has failed, let us try the nation."

As a cabinet minister John Bright scored no great success. As Mr. Trevelyan shows, this was largely due to his failing health. He was laid aside entirely during the fateful months when the Liberal cabinet capitulated on the education question, and laid up a heritage of trouble for all subsequent Liberal ministries. The lack of success was, however, also



due to the fact that Bright had not the qualities necessary to a successful minister. During his later years he roused himself to aid in the fight for the third Reform Bill and he showed real constructive statesmanship in his suggestion for dealing with the House of Lords on the lines afterwards adopted by Mr. Asquith in the Parliament Act. But it was Bright's criticism during the years when he was a free lance, and the speeches in which he embodied his deepest convictions that gave him his importance in the field of British politics. Mr. Trevelyan has made large use of the published speeches in his biography. More than in the case of any other public man, John Bright's life was his speeches, and the best of these have been known and read for fifty years, since they were collected and published by Thorold Rogers in 1869. Before the appearance of Mr. Trevelyan's volume there were in existence also several volumes giving sketches of Bright. These include Mr. Barry O'Brien's monograph published in 1910 and the *John Bright in the Victorian Era* series by C. A. Vince, which was published in 1898. These little books, however, in no way filled the place which will henceforth be occupied by the excellent biography of Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan.

A. G. PORRITT.

*Geschichte der Aufteilung und Kolonisation Afrikas seit dem Zeitalter der Entdeckungen.* Von PAUL DARMSTAEDTER. Erster Band, 1415-1870. (Berlin and Leipzig: C. J. Göschen. 1913. Pp. viii, 320.)

It is now several years since the publication of Alfred Zimmerman's monumental work, *Die Europäischen Kolonien*, and the translation into German of Sir Harry Johnston's *History of the Colonization of Africa*. Neither of these two books can now be expected to satisfy the natural desire of the Germans for a thoroughgoing history of European activities in Africa. Herr Darmstaedter does not attempt such a work in this volume. He does scarcely more than summarize the events and conclusions which may be found in various English and French books. He frankly says that it has not been possible to consult the mass of unprinted material in European archives nor even to look into all the printed works on the subject. In a forthcoming volume, which will treat the comparatively short period from 1870 to the present time, he promises to introduce some hitherto unprinted documents.

The author of this book chooses to summarize the period before 1800 in one-third of the book, leaving the other two-thirds for the remaining seventy years. He treats the colonies of various countries in general and then individually. In the latter case he shows the method of its acquisition by the mother-country, the policy pursued towards it at home, the efforts at colonizing it, if any, and the conditions of agriculture, trade, population, railroads, and schools at various times. The halting commercial policy of England in Africa is compared unfavorably with the

vigorous methods of the French in Algiers and in the Senegal region. The French are represented as conspicuous for the respect which they have shown the religion and costumes of the natives. In General Faidherbe, governor of the Senegal region (1854-1861), the author finds the ideal colonial administrator, one who was brave as a soldier, energetic as a governor, practical as a man, and withal kind. The complete stagnation of the Portuguese colonies receives its just condemnation.

As one looks through this volume it would be difficult to fail of the conclusion that Africa has never been neglected by European nations. The Portuguese began European expansion by voyages down the coast of Africa. The Spanish, Dutch, English, French, Swedes, Danes, Courlanders, and Brandenburgians later intruded on the exclusive rights claimed by the Portuguese. All these people first went to Africa to exchange their wares for native products. This direct trade was later overshadowed by the slave traffic from the regions of the Senegal, the Gambia, the Gold Coast, Angola, and Mozambique. But if Africa is remembered for the slave-trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it is not because strenuous efforts were not made to develop trade in other products and even plantations of cotton, sugar, tobacco, and indigo. Year after year the English, Dutch, and French renewed the futile effort to grow these agricultural products. It was well into the nineteenth century before Europeans finally realized that it could not be done or in fact that the most of Africa was not subject to European colonization.

The author ends this volume at the year 1870 because he sees there the approximate date of a turning-point in African history, represented by such important events as the discovery of diamonds in South Africa (1867) and the opening of the Suez Canal (1869). One suspects that an unavowed object was to carry the story to about the time when Germany and other nations became interested in Africa. In this way the present volume is an introduction to the forthcoming one. It is, however, a concise one, carefully arranged and well worthy of what it attempts to do.

If any errors are to be noted they are for the most part unimportant. It would have been better to have mentioned the much more prevalent use of marks, ounces, ackies, and tatoes of gold as the standard of exchange in West Africa rather than bars of iron (p. 36). It was by no means ordinary for the English factories on the Gold Coast to be governed by a captain general (p. 55). It was in fact usually done by a council of three or five men. The island of St. Andreas, early occupied by the Courlanders, was not the same as James Island (p. 73), at which place the English had the seat of their government in the Gambia for many years.

*The Ottoman Empire, 1801-1913.* By WILLIAM MILLER, M.A.  
[Cambridge Historical Studies, edited by G. W. PROTHERO,  
F.B.A., Litt.D.] (Cambridge: The University Press. 1913.  
Pp. xvi, 547.)

THIS important work owes its authoritative character to an acute study of the official sources, including the British parliamentary and state papers, the British diplomatic and consular reports on trade and finance, similar diplomatic documents of France and Italy, and the Hellenic White Books, for the use of which the author expresses his indebtedness to the Greek Foreign Office. These, however, form but a small portion of the authorities consulted, as an inspection of the excellent bibliography appended to the volume will show. How careful has been the use made of the sources in general, the reviewer can gauge by inference from local knowledge he happens to have of some quite minor features, such as the organization of the Lebanon government under the supervision of the powers, after the massacres of 1860.

The work is a history of the shrinking of European Turkey, between the years 1801 and 1912. At the beginning of the period, the Ottomans possessed all that is included in the modern kingdom of Greece, except the Ionian Islands, in Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina; and more than one-half of the present principality of Montenegro; while Moldavia and Wallachia (now joined in the kingdom of Rumania) were states tributary to the Turkish Empire. At the present day, Turkey is hardly more than what she was in the first half of the fourteenth century—a purely Asiatic power, save that she still holds Constantinople, Adrianople, and a small strip of territory between. Not only are the struggles of these various countries for freedom followed in detail but their history is pursued with more or less fullness to the end of the volume, covering their development and inter-relations, as well as their relation to Turkey, after they had achieved practical independence. The title of the book, thus, is indeed modest, for in it we find, for example, the modern history of Greece, as well as that of the Ottoman Empire. In this connection, as an illustration of the human quality of Mr. Miller's scholarship, attention may be called to the sympathetic sketch of the unfortunate monarch, Otho (p. 269), whose ardent Hellenism survived his downfall. It is a complicated subject, this story of Turks and Greeks, Serbs and Montenegrins, Bulgarians and Rumanians, but the author has disentangled for us the twisted skeins so well that we may follow clearly the fortunes of each.

Interesting, too, it is to follow the varying influence of the great Powers at Constantinople. At the beginning of the period, we find France still taking that lead in Turkish affairs, which she had long maintained. By the middle of the century, the British influence was paramount, chiefly through "the voice of England in the East"—Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who, on the eve of the Crimean War, "stood behind the trembling Turkish ministers and gave them courage and

advice, so that they left his presence men and statesmen" (p. 205). In 1896, after the horrible Armenian massacres, organized by the Sultan Abdul Hamid, it was Germany who, "anxious for concessions in Asia Minor, constituted herself his protectress" (p. 431).

The Berlin treaty, so often and so cynically broken; the kidnapping and retirement of Alexander of Bulgaria; the atrocious murder of Alexander of Servia and his wife; the rise of the Young Turks; the revolution of 1908, accompanied by the general love-feast among followers of warring religions, which is one of the most extraordinary phenomena of history, modern or ancient; the vicissitudes of the new Parliament; the counter-revolution, which resulted in the exile of Abdul Hamid; the Balkan War—these almost "current events" are touched upon with a liveliness of style, remarkable in a volume of only 500 pages, crowded with detail from cover to cover.

FREDERICK JONES BLISS.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*Indian Slavery in Colonial Times within the Present Limits of the United States.* By ALMON WHEELER LAUBER, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, vol. LIV., no. 3.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1913. Pp. 352.)

THE very thoroughness with which the researches for this monograph were made, and the minuteness and literary skill with which the facts thus obtained have been marshalled in its pages, tend to create a somewhat exaggerated impression of the extent of Indian slavery in the colonies. The cumulative effect of gathering up in a single volume practically every instance of such slavery recorded during a period of 190 years, is to give an importance to Indian servitude which, from an economic point of view at least, it did not, at any one time, really possess, even in those years when most prevalent.

There were two influences which strongly discouraged the enslavement of Indians. First, their intractable disposition. The women and children were more governable than the men, but even the boys were found to be difficult to manage. As for the men, having been wanderers and hunters all their lives, they were not only hard to control and direct to advantage, but also to retain, since all the colonies possessed wide areas of woodland which afforded Indian runaways ample cover for escape to the frontiers. The vast majority of so-called Indian slaves were really prisoners of war, who could not be safely released, and whom it would have been inhuman to kill. From South Carolina to Massachusetts, the common desire was to export these prisoners as resentful in temper and unfitted for the work required in house and field.

A second hostile influence was the steady increase in the number of negro slaves brought into the colonies after the middle of the seventeenth

century. These slaves were superior to the Indian for agricultural and domestic service. They were more obedient, more easily taught, and showed greater power of endurance under the hot summer sun. There was no call of the wild to allure them through the thick woods to the frontier and to liberty. They were faithful, cheerful, and submissive to their fate. As the facilities for obtaining them were enlarged, the demand for the Indian slave further declined.

As no accurate reports of population in colonial times have survived, it is now impossible to fix the number of Indian and negro slaves respectively during that period. There is, however, no reason to think that the number of Indian slaves, in any one year, ever reached a considerable figure, unless a war had recently been fought. They were always most numerous in Massachusetts and South Carolina. In 1708, there were in the latter colony fourteen hundred Indian slaves, mostly women and children, but this large number was due to recent captures in invasions of French, Spanish, and Indian territory. It is stated that fifteen years later the number of such slaves to be found in the same colony was "very few". Indian slaves seem to have been unknown in Georgia; and in Virginia and Maryland, owing to the presence of negro slaves and white indentured servants, they never formed an element of any importance whatever in the community. Indeed, Virginia, before the end of the seventeenth century, had, by statute, prohibited the enslavement of any individual of that race. In 1720, there were two thousand slaves in Massachusetts, of whom only a "few" are reported to have been Indians. In 1790, in the same state, there were said to be two thousand Indian-negro half-breeds in a body of six thousand free colored (not two hundred in a body of six thousand slaves, as Mr. Lauber says, p. 110). From 1636 to 1704, there is no reference in the statutes of Rhode Island to Indian slaves. In that colony, Indian slavery seems to have been confined to a few localities. In Connecticut, it resulted apparently entirely from occasional wars with the several tribes. In 1680, there were only thirty such slaves in that colony. The number of Indian slaves in the Middle Colonies was always conspicuously small; while in New York, it never became a general custom to reduce persons of that race to bondage. It is thus seen that, while Indian slavery in colonial times prevailed sufficiently to justify the writing of the searching and scholarly monograph under review, it did not prevail to a degree to make any real impression on the social and economic character of the community in that age.

PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE.

*Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679-1680.* Edited by BARTLETT BURLEIGH JAMES, B.D., Ph.D., and J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph.D., LL.D. [Original Narratives of Early American History.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1913. Pp. xxxi, 313; two maps and one view in facsimile.)

THE original Dutch manuscript of this journal was acquired by Henry C. Murphy, in 1864, from Frederik Muller, the Amsterdam book-

seller. It was translated into English and edited by him for the Long Island Historical Society, which published it as its *Memoirs*, volume I., in 1867. At the sale of Murphy's library, in 1884, this society bought the original manuscript for about twenty-five dollars and it is yet preserved as the choicest manuscript in the society's library. It is a journal of two Labadists, followers of the evangelical doctrines of Jean de Labadie, who came over to America to find a suitable locality in which to establish a community. Danckaerts and Sluyter fixed upon lands in Augustine Herrman's Bohemia Manor, Maryland, where they settled the nucleus of a colony in 1683, and this was the first communal sect in America. They had set out from Holland in June, 1679, and landed in New York city on September 23 following. During their American sojourn and rambles they visited places in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Massachusetts. They were religious zealots and their observations reflect many of the religious conditions, interpreted as they conceived them; but they have preserved also much that has great value relative to the topography, government, social and economic conditions, and the Indians and white persons they met during their journeyings. They have preserved, no doubt not with absolute accuracy, topographical descriptions of settlements and other places for which no like information of so early a date has been handed down to us. The illustrations which yet accompany the original manuscript are in many ways unique and contain some nearly faithful representations; yet it should be remembered that Danckaerts was not an expert draughtsman (p. 84) and that not all of the drawings have been saved.

The new edition now makes this interesting journal more generally available. Dr. James, in an introduction of eleven pages, gives a recital of the Labadists, their doctrines and their Maryland community, which is supplemented by Dr. Jameson's presentation of some data about Danckaerts and Sluyter, that were unknown to Murphy. The translation is substantially Murphy's, with slight revisions, particularly in bringing the spelling of proper names "into accord with that of the original manuscript, except that certain familiar names, after being once given in the original spelling, have thereafter been put into their modern forms". The distances are given in English miles. Portions of the long descriptions of the Atlantic voyages to and from America have been omitted in the new edition. One of the original pen drawings, the long view of New York city as seen from Brooklyn, is printed here for the first time by direct photographic process. The others are omitted; but in their stead are given portions of two maps of the period, Herrman's Maryland (1673) and New York and New England from Montanus (1671).

The annotations of the new edition are more numerous and more serviceable than those in Murphy's edition, whilst Dr. Jameson, who is responsible for them, has availed himself of Murphy's data in so far as they were worthy of use. The reviewer has examined the annotations carefully and has found only the following errors, *viz.*: Jean Vigne was born at Fort Orange (Albany), in 1624. The journal is clearly in error



and there is distinct evidence to prove it. Sara Rapalje was not the first-born female in New Netherland (p. 47 and note; also p. 236, note). Several children had been born at Fort Orange before November, 1624 (Eekhof's *Bastiaen Jansz. Krol*). The road (p. 65, note) from New Haerlem to Spuyten Duyvil was ordered made by the mayor's court, on November 7, 1676 (MS. Harlem Records). The road finished in 1673 was the highway from New York to New Haerlem. The allusion to the Duke's Laws (p. 90) as "reissued by Governor Lovelace in 1674", should be attributed to Governor Andros. The best collated text of these laws is printed in volume I. of the *Colonial Laws of the State of New York*. The island (p. 215 and note 2) was Castle Island, upon which Fort Nassau had been built in 1614. The Pompey stone tradition has been wholly discredited by Dr. W. M. Beauchamp. It is a fraud.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

*George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781*. Edited with introduction and notes by JAMES ALTON JAMES, Northwestern University. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. VIII., Virginia Series, vol. III.] (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Historical Library. 1912. Pp. clxvii, 715.)

THIS massive volume forms a splendid addition to the strong output of the Illinois State Historical Library. Pages xiii to clxvii contain the historical introduction to the letters which occupy the ensuing pages. This introduction forms a treatise of wide value to teacher and student, a monograph to take rank with, if not above, the best that have been written sanely and critically of the West in the decade mentioned. It treats of the contest for Indian alliance, Morgan's and Hamilton's relationship, frontier defense, Clark's advent, the Illinois expedition, the struggle for Vincennes, the victory and its disappointments, finances and government, Indian affairs, the Detroit plans, the struggle for the Mississippi, etc. Students who know the lack of reliable material relating to Revolutionary problems of the West will regret that this treatise should be crowded into this plethoric volume, cabined and curtailed, rather than appearing in expanded and completed form to take its rightful place as a standard work on the Revolution in the West and its aftermath.

The letters and documents which follow number some 320 and occupy 608 pages; for typographical purposes these are divided chronologically into thirteen chapters, the titles (in brief) running: Clark and the West before the Revolution; Preliminaries of the Revolution in the West; Capture of Kaskaskia and Capitulation of Vincennes; the Capture of Vincennes; the *Letter to Mason*; Bowman's *Journal*; the *Memoir*; Establishment of Civil Government; Events to the Close of 1779; Defense of the West to August 1st, 1780; Shawnee Expedition; Jefferson and Washington on the Detroit Campaign; Failure of Detroit Plans. The letters and documents in French are followed by translations. The translations are in general good literal renditions; at times literalness has clouded

the English meaning, as page 48, line 26, "blacken" is used where "calumniate" would serve better, and "destroy" should be "set at variance with". Literalness is forsaken page 51, line 31, though the meaning of the sentence is obscure in both the original and the translation; but "longer responsibility for innocent blood" is not authorized by the original which reads "shedding of more innocent blood"; the idea of "responsibility" is not conveyed in the text. On the last line of the same page "promising" is not in the original; on page 53 the translation of the endorsement is omitted as is elsewhere true. On page 56, line 7, the translation of a line of French is given which does not appear in the original; this is in the Oath of Inhabitants of Vincennes and the line omitted in the French reads (in the translation) "independence of the said people, as prescribed by Congress, and that"—an important line indeed. The manuscript sources drawn upon are the Draper manuscripts, and those of the State Library of Virginia, the Library of Congress, the Canadian Archives, and the British Museum. Nearly one-third of the manuscripts are from the hand of Clark himself, including sixty-five letters; the remainder comprise documents and letters, by, and relating to, others, and important in determining the inwardness of the events of the decade. Reversing "the custom of the country", therefore, the volume covers a wider field and proves more useful than its title suggests. This book and its promised companions (containing the remainder of the Clark Papers, *Virginia* series, vol. IV., and a second on Pollock and the financiering of the Revolution in the West, *Virginia* series, vol. V.) should prove the most important of source-books on the Revolution and the critical after years.

In an appendix of eighteen pages the *Bowman Journal* is discussed and the *Memoir* is accredited as historical evidence; Professor James has no doubt but that the original manuscript of the *Memoir* lies at Madison. A list of published sources follows the appendix; it is succeeded by a complete list of the documents printed by chapters, forming a key to the individual documents. An index having every superior quality completes the volume, which throughout is well printed and as well bound. Criticisms are possible, but the scrupulous care, the technical skill and scholarly poise of the editor make trivial corrections superfluous. Reproduction of contemporaneous manuscript maps (not hitherto published but which must exist) would have added value; a carefully made modern map of the Kaskaskias and Vincennes marches would have a value. In cases of the illegibility of a word or sentence the student is glad to have a hint of opinion, in brackets or foot-note, from editor or translator, the person best qualified to hazard an opinion, instead of reading merely "[blank in the MS.]". Professor James does not run even as close as this to over-editing. It is a question whether the typical student shares the typical reviewer's distaste for over-edited manuscripts. Scholars will await with interest the companion volume containing the remaining Clark material covering years and events about

which there has been more discussion than has been true of the data covering 1771 to 1781.

ARCHER B. HULBERT.

*A Naval History of the American Revolution.* By GARDNER W. ALLEN. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1913. Pp. xii, 365; viii, 366-752.)

THESE careful volumes throw light on many obscure incidents and phases of the maritime struggle for American independence and the origins of the United States navy. Finding that exhaustive research has been confined to the few brilliant episodes of the war, Dr. Allen has undertaken to discuss the bearing of the maritime efforts of the colonists upon the military, diplomatic, and commercial problems of the period. His method is that of blending extracts from contemporary documents into a more or less coherent narrative or argument. He deals with these selections rather as an editor than a critic. His exact reproduction of citations may give an occasional effect of quaintness, but it sometimes throws a suspicion of illiteracy upon men who wrote after the seafaring fashion of the age. Logs have always been written curtly and bluntly enough, and their amplification for controversial or apologetic purposes does not make for a fluent, graphic, or accurate style. Most of the Revolutionary captains had to account for failure; but the letters of the most successful among them are equally entangled in controversy. John Paul Jones counted every notable commander as a rival; and his references to Manley, with whom he had never served, are hardly less bitter than his denunciations of his recreant consort Landais.

The author, though not a professed biographer, does not criticize the bristling self-assertion of Jones, but he does condemn Manley for losing the *Hancock*, in spite of the verdict of a court martial which placed the blame elsewhere. John Adams followed Washington in declaring Manley the peer of any American officer of the fleet, and he opposed the tendency to exalt "foreigners of the South" at the expense of New England seamen. Dr. Allen holds that Manley "failed to stand the test" when pursued by a British squadron, but this belated censure is not altogether convincing.

The most obvious criticism of this substantial work relates to its failure to fulfil the expectations raised by its title and preface. The naval protagonists in the wars of the American Revolution sailed under the flags of England and France. Even Spain and Holland made a greater effort to secure the strategic command of the sea than their American ally. Dr. Allen hardly mentions cruises and battles unless they took place in American waters, and the actual employment of the British navy is not fully shown. Even the names of its successive commanders are left uncertain. Rear-Admiral Stephen Graves, whose inactivity enabled the seamen of Massachusetts to take so many rich prizes, does not appear in the index, and the reader is left to confuse

him with his kinsman the first Lord Graves. Something is said of the quarrel between Arbuthnot and Rodney, but a brief reference to Sir J. K. Laughton's lives of all these commanders, as published in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, would have been more informing. The bearing of the naval campaigns of the war can hardly be shown without a full discussion of their strategic results; but neither these nor the simpler problems of naval tactics have been analyzed or explained.

The bibliography contained in the appendix is extensive and valuable, though its arrangement is such that a key should have been offered in the general index. Naturally the list of sources is incomplete. Fortescue's *History of the British Army* contains suggestive pages; Trevelyan's *History of the American Revolution* is more worthy of mention than the work of Belcher; and the *Memoirs* of John Jay, which give an account of a cruise in an American frigate whose officers were too impecunious to order a bowl of punch for their French allies, also contain some general views of naval policy. The works of John Adams are cited, but more use might have been made of them, since their author, though by no means free from passion and prejudice, was, in his degree, a founder of the American navy and a loyal champion of its development.

Such general views as Dr. Allen has found time to elaborate are judiciously stated. He condemns privateering as failing to compensate by the capture of prizes for its destructive effect upon naval discipline; "ships of reprisal, where no discipline is", were condemned by the Elizabethan admirals who had sailed in them; and Seward must have been the last statesman holding a responsible position who hoped to employ foreign rovers to prey on British commerce. Our author holds that naval protection will be needed "until international arbitration has taken the place of war"; but even Jefferson was aware of a more lasting need for the police of the sea. Thus Madison in the *Federalist* (no. 41) urges the need of a fleet to protect our commerce and our harbors from "the rapacious demands of pirates and barbarians" and to hold in check the "unruly passions" which would be let loose on the ocean to insult and pillage Americans during the next European war—a prediction which he must have remembered when he fled from the capital a generation later. The liberation of Spanish America was not accomplished without the development of predatory interests outside the pale of international arbitration. Hamilton held in another chapter (no. 11) that we should have enough ships of the line to decide a West Indian campaign in favor of either belligerent; this would enable us to "bargain for commercial privileges. A price would be set not only upon our friendship, but upon our neutrality." Failing this he was ready by 1798 to lead an American army on a filibustering expedition in South America in absolute dependence upon the command of the sea by the British fleet and its co-operation in this war of adventure. International morality and American patriotism have naturally advanced beyond the standards advocated by Hamilton.

C. G. CALKINS.

*A History of the People of the United States, from the Revolution to the Civil War.* By JOHN BACH MCMASTER. Volume VIII. 1850-1861. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1913. Pp. xxi, 556.)

IN 1883, Professor McMaster published the first volume of a new history of the people of the United States. His readers will recall their delight in the brilliant introductory chapter in which he unrolled a panorama of American life in the days of the Confederation. In that opening paragraph he outlined his intended course so clearly and minutely that no fellow-mariner could mistake his ports of call and final destination:

Much, indeed, must be written of wars, conspiracies, and rebellions; of presidents, of congresses, of embassies, of treaties, of the ambition of political leaders in the senate-house, and of the rise of great parties in the nation. Yet the history of the people shall be the chief theme. At every stage of the splendid progress which separates the America of Washington and Adams from the America in which we live, it shall be my purpose to describe the dress, the occupations, the amusements, the literary canons of the times; to note the changes of manners and morals; to trace the growth of that humane spirit which abolished punishment for debt, which reformed the discipline of prisons and of jails, and which has, in our own time, destroyed slavery and lessened the miseries of dumb brutes. Nor shall it be less my aim to recount the manifold improvements which, in a thousand ways, have multiplied the conveniences of life and ministered to the happiness of our race; to describe the rise and progress of that long series of mechanical inventions and discoveries which is now the admiration of the world, and our just pride and boast; to tell how, under the benign influence of liberty and peace, there sprang up, in the course of a single century, a prosperity unparalleled in the annals of human affairs; how, from a state of great poverty and feebleness, our country grew rapidly to one of opulence and power; how her agriculture and her manufactures flourished together; how, by a wise system of free education and a free press, knowledge was disseminated, and the arts and sciences advanced; how the ingenuity of her people became fruitful of wonders far more astonishing than any of which the alchemists had ever dreamed.

Such a mingling of social with political history is necessary to a correct understanding of the peculiar circumstances under which our nation was formed and grew up.

Professor McMaster has now come to rest with this eighth and final volume, and it becomes possible to compare his actual contribution with his initial forecast.

This book begins with the agitations and debates out of which the compromise of 1850 was born. Its concluding words are the eloquent peroration of Lincoln's first inaugural, March 4, 1861. From this point some future historian will set forth to retrace the marvellous experiences of another half-century. To this same decade Mr. Rhodes has devoted the first two volumes of his masterpiece. Though the latter makes no special claim to write the story of the people, the two his-

torians do not differ widely in their selection of subjects or in the incidence of emphasis. To both of them the political aspects of the great controversy about slavery present the one issue of overshadowing interest.

Seven out of the twelve chapters and three-fifths of the space in this volume are filled with the political contentions of anti-slavery and secession. So far as it goes, the review is admirable. The telling blows in the controversy are duly chronicled (though we do miss any reference to the birth of the Republican party at Ripon, Wisconsin, and in the famous "oak grove" at Jackson, Michigan), and the unfailing newspaper quotations re-echo the noise of public opinion clashing in the background.

A fine opportunity was lost here to round out this subject by a careful study of the social and industrial environment of slavery in the South just before it went to its overthrow. Frederick Law Olmsted published in 1856 and 1857 his faithful pictures of that Southern society in his *Journey through the Seaboard Slave States*, and *Texas*, and *Journey through the Back Country* (published in 1860). His pages throw more light upon slavery and the home life of the South than can be found in many files of contemporary journals, but this volume contains no reference to the man or his work. On the other hand Hinton Rowan Helper and his short-lived *chef-d'œuvre*, *The Impending Crisis*, figure prominently in these pages (pp. 426-428). That book helped to defeat John Sherman for the speakership in 1859, and therefore it loomed large in the head-lines.

There is no clear statement of the economic situation in the South in this decade. Its fancied economic strength was based upon a very small list of products. There is only an incidental allusion (pp. 475, 487) to the universal conviction in the South that "Cotton was King". One chapter in the book is devoted to economic conditions, but it scarcely crosses Mason and Dixon's line, except for the purpose of listing failures of banks and railways in times of panic. It discusses the coinage, railway expansion and collapse, and assemblies of the unemployed in Northern cities. Elsewhere, as a part of the story of slavery, the desperate attempts of the radical Southern leaders to reopen the slave-trade are properly noted (pp. 344-351), but those efforts are not co-ordinated with the social and economic movements and needs that made such projects inevitable. There is no reference to the establishment of reciprocity with Canada, a step which brought that interesting region nearer to union with us than it had ever been before, or has ever been since. Canada does not even appear in the index. It would have been profitable to uncover the conditions that a little later were to commit the Republican party to high tariff doctrines and to a reckless policy of railway grants. Wall Street was already the bogey-man of American politics, and manufacturers' agents lobbied scandalously in the Congress that tinkered the tariff in 1857. Three members of the House who were too greedy in connection with the Rivers and Harbors Bill resigned in



order to forestall expulsion. The alliance between politics and business was in active operation, but we cannot learn much about it from this volume.

There are but four chapters that deal with conditions in general. One, entitled, *International Entanglements*, describes the Cuban filibusters, the Kossuth craze, and the dispute with England and the maritime provinces over the three-mile limit. Another chapter sings the swan-song of the Whig party, but the election of 1852 occupies only the first half. The last ten pages revert to foreign affairs and scantily suffice for Martin Koszta, the *Black Warrior* and the Ostend Manifesto, the Gadsden treaty with Mexico, Walker in Nicaragua, and Perry's world-changing visit to Japan.

Of the two remaining chapters one is called *Social Ferment*, and the other *On the Plains*. In these two chapters Professor McMaster comes nearer to the wide-glancing description of scope and purpose with which he began his work. Here are emptied the treasures of the pigeonholes and here he seizes and imprisons some of the Protean shapes of popular life and progress. It is significant that racial enmity in California in 1850 was first aimed at Mexicans, South Americans, and Kanakas (p. 62), and that these darker-skinned races were driven out before the Chinaman began to suffer.

Our generation has seen the Prophet "Elijah" Dowie. We have not often been reminded that on Sundays in 1854, young men, allied with the Native American party, wearing peculiar white felt hats and rallying to the cry, "Wide Awake! Wide Awake!", used to escort a man calling himself the "Angel Gabriel" to the city hall park in New York (pp. 86-87). Gabriel would mount the steps, blow a few blasts on a trumpet, and afterwards denounce the pope and the Catholic Church. And this was the first form of the famous Wide Awakes.<sup>1</sup>

The chapter *On the Plains* is perhaps the best in the book. One regrets only the brevity of this story of the overland routes, of Mormon hostility, and of the first territorial organizations. It seems unfortunate that the historian of the people could not add here the marvellous story of the new life on the Pacific coast and of the cosmopolitan society that gathered at San Francisco. But except in connection with the question of aliens, there is no reference to that creation of a new world. The vigilance committees are not mentioned, neither is David C. Broderick, the Bowery boy who became the Douglas leader in California, and whose fatal feud with Terry had such enduring results.

We are told many things about the growth of cities and the appearance of gangs of rough citizens (p. 69), but nothing is said concerning the formation and development of party machines and the evolution of the municipal boss, which were the fundamental facts.

<sup>1</sup> Rhodes's account of the Know-Nothing movement does not note this initial phase of an historic name. Cf. *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, I. 50-58, and especially 224, note.

Of progress in literature, science, religion, and art during this decade nothing is noted, except that Japanese visitors admired the Drummond light. *Putnam's Monthly*, the best magazine in America, is not mentioned, and it is indeed surprising that there is no reference to the publication and influence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in either serial or book form (1852).

On page 95 one Whitney flashes into sight as a man who wanted a strip of the public domain sixty miles wide from the Great Lakes to the Pacific in order to build a transcontinental railway. The index vouchsafes the information that his first name was Asa, but otherwise this captain of finance remains unidentified.

Professor McMaster's method of historical composition preserves in his work the merits of simplicity, pungency, and a certain sense of nearness to the event. It is as though the *Saxon Chronicle* had been written not by monks but by journalists. The warp and woof of history are already at his hand in the columns of a score of contemporary newspapers. Among these he rearranges and rewrites until the new fabric of his narrative appears. Usually the thread of it is chiefly chronological. The subtler relations of the superficial event to the underlying forces are left to the possible power of inference. There is not in this volume such a discussion of Southern civilization as that contained in Rhodes's fourth chapter.

McMaster achieves a wide range of fact and a fine impartiality. Scarcely does even the turn of an adjective betray the personal preference of the author. He is not only successful in concealing his own personality; he seldom seems to visualize the personalities of others. He has in this volume come nearer to recreating Douglas than any of his rivals or predecessors, but, as a rule, the moving show passes like a screen carrying only painted figures.

For the student of the last decade before the Civil War there is now an unwonted abundance of competent guides, Schouler, McMaster, and Rhodes are all at his service. Mr. Rhodes's two volumes will probably for a long time continue to bear a pre-eminence to which their author's breadth of view, calm judgment, and skill in synthetic interpretation entitle them.

The two other historians have been fellow-workers, not only for this decade but throughout their whole labor from 1789 to 1860. There is less variance between their topical sequences than the difference in their announcements of purpose would seem to suggest. Schouler will be valued for a wide comprehension of political fact and for flashes of personal portraiture.

McMaster has brought together a series of carefully constructed monographs upon selected subjects. His work is distinguished by lucidity in arrangement, unusual power of detachment, and scholarly thoroughness and discernment in exposition. He has collected much illustrative material difficult to find elsewhere. Notably in the history of

our relations with Texas and Mexico, he has presented a singularly complete study.

One slight error in statement should be corrected in a later edition. In speaking of the effect of John Brown's trial and execution upon Brown's Northern friends Professor McMaster says that Thomas Wentworth Higginson stayed in Worcester, though most of the others fled to Canada for a season. We believe that it is now generally known that Colonel Higginson went in disguise to Harper's Ferry to see whether anything could be done to help his crazy friend.

It may be helpful to note here the misspelling of Bryant on page 145, of Trumbull on page 214, and of Donelson on page 265. Daniel A. Dickinson (p. 168) should be Daniel S. The reviewer also protests earnestly against the mongrel word, "wifeism", which mars the author's usually excellent English, on page 125.

There are four maps: 1. The Rocky Mountain and Pacific territories, to illustrate the debates in 1850; 2. Eastern Kansas, 1854-1857; 3. Charleston Harbor, 1861; 4. The United States in 1861. The last map illustrates the attitude of each state and territory toward slavery and secession.

CHARLES H. LIVERMORE.

*The Story of the Civil War.* A concise account of the war in America between 1861 and 1865, in continuation of the story by John Codman Ropes. By WILLIAM ROSCOE LIVERMORE, Colonel United States Army. Part III. *The Campaigns of 1863 to July 10th.* In two volumes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1913. Pp. xxiv, 270; xi, 271-521.)

AFTER twelve years that have elapsed since the death of John C. Ropes, we are given two volumes in continuation of his story of the Civil War. Although much has been written there was still the need for a connected account written by one qualified to give the judgment of competent historical research and able professional criticism upon the entire period of the Civil War. Such a work stands in a different class from the special studies of great value which have also appeared, such as those of Henderson, Alexander, Bigelow, and others, and also from the monumental works of a semi-political character like those of Nicolay and Hay, Rhodes, and perhaps Wilson, which sometimes adopt too much of the gossip of the camp-fire in the field and of the newspapers at the rear. No better hand could have been found to take up this unfinished task than that of Colonel Livermore. Although it is impossible to duplicate, extend, and continue the simply flowing style and persuasive diction of Ropes, we are amply repaid by facts more carefully and clearly arrayed, by comment more convincing, and by theories that need no argument to secure their being accepted. Here and there throughout we find masterpieces of description and criticism, of which perhaps the best are Chancellorsville and Champion's Hill.

The grateful reader, despairing over the multitude of books that he wants to read but cannot, welcomes every expedient for saving his time and for illuminating his text. We have here several which are worthy of more general use, such as conventional signs on maps to indicate the number of troops, abbreviations to take the place of names fully spelled, superfluous topography cleared off and eliminated, the dates of operations under consideration at the top of each page, proper names of confederates in italics. There is also an increased number of maps, which were only eighteen in number in the first two volumes of *Ropes*, but now number seventy in the later two volumes of *Livermore*. We only wish there were more. Some of the maps one would wish that the favor of the book-maker had arranged so as not to be twisted on the page.

The history of the Civil War grows continually in interest as is shown by this constant appearance of books of ever increasing value, and one of the most noticeable effects is that out of the haze of time and the confusion of the days of hero worship and passion the result of our clearer view shows in more imposing majesty the gigantic forms of the great leaders, while those who lagged or lost opportunities or did not read the signs aright are fading gradually from our view. Perchance some may see in this, early signs of the time when Gettysburg will be a fable, as inaccurate and unreal for instance as a steel engraving of Washington or a painting of Napoleon crossing the Alps. Let us hope not.

Grant and Lee, Jackson, Sherman, and others, some after many failures, but with ever increasing intensity of purpose and more decided success, are gaining gradually. In this class the author perhaps would be willing to include Meade, who certainly deserves well of history and upon whose acts we know not the entire influence exerted by the strategy of Lincoln and Halleck. But if we award credit to him it must be largely at the expense of his army, for there are many things to explain when a valiant army of 100,000 men with 372 guns, under capable leaders, stands defensively on a line four miles long against the assaults of a smaller force, suffers defeat of large fractions when supporting troops are near, and permits such attacks as those of A. R. Wright and Harry T. Hays. There seem to be many points of similarity between Chancellorsville and Gettysburg so far as leadership is concerned.

On the whole the author disposes of controversial questions, of which there were so many during the period covered by the two volumes, with great skill, often dismissing them entirely without notice or closing them without argument but with brief analysis and cold criticism. So it is with McClelland, Rosecrans, Sickles, Howard, and other brave but unfortunate soldiers, who have had many chances to state their cases but upon whom history will fail to give a verdict of complete acquittal. Not so judiciously we would say does the author view the serious question of Stuart's action in the Gettysburg campaign. He appears to accept Lee's report (*O. R.*, XLIV. 316) that he expected Stuart to give notice

of the crossing of the Potomac by the federal army. But Lee (*O. R.*, XLV. 913) had ordered Stuart to join the right wing of the army on the Susquehanna. Again he speaks of Stuart "on a wild goose chase", and says that Stuart's cavalry should have been "between the two armies or in front of Meade". It would be instructive to study the probabilities of such a case. If Stuart had been in front of Meade would not Pleasanton have been there too and Meade's army concentrated instead of on a front of thirty miles?

It is safe to predict a warm welcome for this series into the list of standard works of historical and professional criticism.

EBEN SWIFT.

*The Life and Letters of George Gordon Meade, Major-General United States Army.* By GEORGE MEADE, Captain and Aide-de-Camp and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, United States Army. Edited by GEORGE GORDON MEADE. In two volumes. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1913. Pp. vii, 389; 432, 24 maps.)

GENERAL MEADE's letters to his wife, relating his experiences and views of men and events in the Mexican and Civil wars, constitute the main and historically important part of this work. The Mexican War letters (178 pages) deal with the period from the first assembly of General Taylor's petty army in Texas to the capture of Monterey and also with General Scott's landing at Vera Cruz but not with his march into the interior, as prior to that Meade, at that time lieutenant, had returned to the United States. These letters give an intimate picture of camp life of the period and are an important addition to the published sources on General Taylor's operations in northern Mexico. Lieutenant Meade, as an officer of topographical engineers serving on the staff of the general commanding, had facilities for gaining information of passing events not usually possessed by the subaltern.

The letters are on the whole favorable towards General Taylor's conduct of affairs but he criticizes the general's failure to make proper use of his staff departments, ascribing, for example, his failure to cross the Rio Grande in pursuit of the Mexicans after their disastrous defeat at Resaca de la Palma (May 9, 1846) not to the failure of the government to fill his requisition for boats, as has commonly been supposed, but to the general's own shortsightedness. Writing on June 3 Lieutenant Meade says:

We arrived at our camp opposite Matamoras March 28; we broke it up May 1. . . . During this time from commencement to end my individual efforts were made as well as were those of other officers to induce him [Taylor] to reflect upon the subject of bridges, and in the absence of a pontoon train, which Congress was debating about giving us, to call upon his engineer officers for plans for crossing the river with such materials as were at hand; but, no, the old gentleman would

never listen or give it a moment's attention. The consequence was, when the enemy were routed, and the question asked him, could we get over the river, there were no preparations, and we were detained nine days (I. 101).

Lieutenant Meade's comments on the conduct of American volunteer troops in this northern campaign are highly instructive and of especial interest at the moment. He writes on December 2, 1846:

The volunteers have been creating disturbances which have at last aroused the old General so much that he has ordered one regiment, the First Kentucky foot, to march to the rear, as they have disgraced themselves and their State. . . . [Description of the incidents leading thereto.] You know I am not one of those regular soldiers who have all their lives gotten up and gone to bed at the sound of the drum, and who are filled with all the prejudices of an exclusive class, and look upon all but regular troops with contempt, and never see any good in volunteers. . . . The volunteers have in this war, on the whole, behaved better than I believed they would and infinitely better than they did in the Florida war, under my own eye. Still, without a modification of the manner in which they are officered, they are almost useless in an offensive war. They are sufficiently well-drilled for practical purposes, and are, I believe, brave, and will fight as gallantly as any men, but they are a set of Goths and Vandals, without discipline, laying waste the country wherever we go, making us a terror to innocent people, and if there is any spirit or energy in the Mexicans, will finally rouse the people against us, who now are perfectly neutral. In addition to which, they add immensely to the expenses of the war. They cannot take care of themselves; the hospitals are crowded with them, they die like sheep; they waste their provisions, requiring twice as much to supply them as regulars do. They plunder the poor inhabitants of everything they can lay their hands on, and shoot them when they remonstrate, and if one of their number happens to get into a drunken brawl and is killed, they run over the country, killing all the poor innocent people they find in their way, to avenge, as they say, the murder of their brother. This is a true picture, and the cause is the utter incapacity of their officers to control them or command respect (I. 161).

Prefacing the Mexican War letters we find a brief chapter (18 pp.) giving General Meade's genealogy and an account of his early life, and following it a narrative (20 pp.) describing his career between the Mexican and Civil wars, during which period he was engaged in light-house construction and the work of surveying the Great Lakes.

The main interest, however, centres on the Civil War letters which fill 150 pages of volume I. and 190 pages of volume II. General Meade served in the Army of the Potomac as a general officer almost constantly from its earliest organization to the close of the war, and there are few of its campaigns on which his intimate descriptions and comments, made in confidence to his wife, do not cast new and interesting light. The view is never far-sighted and at time it seems homely; it clearly betrays General Meade's great lack—a sense of humor; yet it shows a keen perception of men and affairs about him and never fails to interest. Meade's



relations to Grant during the last year of the war are here for the first time clearly portrayed. He writes, March 16, 1864, "I was much pleased with Grant . . . he is not an ordinary man" (II. 181), and on April 26, 1864, "My relations with Grant continue friendly and confidential, and I see no disposition on his part to take advantage of his position" (II. 192). The relations, however, become more and more strained until on April 23, 1865, he writes to his wife, who appears all along to have mistrusted Grant, "I, however, now give up Grant" (p. 276), and adds, a few days later, "I am curious to see whether Grant, when he joins him [Sherman], will smother him as he did me" (p. 277).

Volume II. contains a narrative account of the Gettysburg campaign (131 pp.) and numerous appendixes (116 pp.) giving many documents to be found in the *Rebellion Records*, but presumably printed here from the general's private file, since no references are given, also newspaper articles attacking as well as defending his conduct and other documents of a controversial nature of bygone interest. Both volumes are well indexed and, from the general reader's standpoint, well mapped. Maps 1-10 serve to show with fair accuracy the positions of component parts of the army June 27-30, 1863. The Gettysburg battle-field maps are not sufficiently detailed in portraying the ground nor sufficiently accurate in regard to the location of troops to be of value to the military student. One map alone (no. 11) possesses interest in that it gives information regarding the routes of march of both armies on Gettysburg not to be found elsewhere but the origin of the map or the sources from which it is compiled are not stated.

The narrative of Gettysburg, written mainly by General Meade's son but completed by his grandson, the editor, is remarkable for its moderation towards those of the general's subordinates who afterwards sought to rob him of any credit for the victory and towards whom in after life General Meade felt very bitterly. It does not, however, conform to the standards of modern historical writing. Almost no references are given, except to documents included in the narrative, and one is left to guess whether facts are drawn from official documents, from the after recollections of the general, or from other published narratives. It cannot be said to add anything to our present knowledge of the battle, either in the way of facts or point of view, nor do the letters of the general bring out anything new on this particular subject.

If the question be asked whether the publication of this new material tends to alter the generally accepted view of General Meade's military capacity, the answer must be that it rather serves to confirm it. Sent to West Point solely for its educational advantages, he resigned from the army soon after graduation. Unsuccessful in civil life he, six years later, again obtained the tender of, and accepted, a commission. The profession of arms, however, never was and never became his ideal. It was to him a matter of obligation and duty in which his duty was always performed in a manner both to warrant and to secure high praise. He

gave the government, in return for his pay, a high degree of talent and skill but he never gave it himself nor forgot himself in the execution of his mission. By his own merits he rose to command the Army of the Potomac; as its commander he possessed the talent and skill to foil, with his superior means, the designs of Lee but lacked the genius to find a way to overcome Lee.

It is doubtful if the judgment of the future will dispute that of Grant, who found in him a skillful commander of an army and never thought of displacing him at the head of the Army of the Potomac, but who, when it came to seeking independent leaders for posts requiring a bold spirit of initiative, a psychological insight into the capacity of his own and the enemy's troops, the ability to penetrate and forestall the enemy's designs and to break his will, looked to Sheridan, Wright, and Terry, towards the close of the war, rather than to the more experienced and more highly trained technically but less forceful commander of the Army of the Potomac.

A. L. CONGER.

*Donelson Campaign Sources, supplementing Volume 7 of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion.* Compiled for use at the Army Service Schools, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. (Fort Leavenworth: Army Service Schools Press. 1913. Pp. ix, 239.)

THIS volume, consisting of documents, correspondence, newspaper reports, memoirs, photographs of the vessels engaged in the campaign, and photographs and biographical sketches of the officers in command on both sides, was prepared by Captain A. L. Conger, instructor in military history at the Army Schools. Seven years ago, when Captain Conger was first placed in charge of the military history at Leavenworth, the source method of instruction was introduced into the staff, or second-year class. Last year the method was carried down into the line, or first-year class. It was for the use of this class that the supplementary volume of sources was compiled. This volume, used together with volume VII. of the *Rebellion Records*, furnishes all the sources on the Donelson campaign. The reasons for selecting the Donelson campaign for the first-year men were: (1) "The forces dealt with on both sides are relatively small; (2) the sources are contained, so far as the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion* are concerned, in a single volume, or nearly so; and (3) the student has here of necessity to find his way through the sources to the facts since there has not been written on this campaign any secondary work of sufficient value to constitute a guide." All the sources outside the *Records*, "scattered through many volumes", have been brought together in this supplementary volume. The reasons for introducing the research work into the graduate school at Leavenworth are three:

(1) It is essential for him [the officer] . . . to form a clear mental conception of war. This is only possible to gain, in the absence of actual and extensive war experience, from a close, searching study of war-remains and the application to them of the methodic tests; (2) second, it is important for him to be able to judge, by possessing knowledge of historical method, of the value of secondary historical works and to learn to avoid the numerous authors, often of high reputations, whose writings are not only devoid of any real value but do positive harm to *readers not trained in historical criticism* by giving them untrue impressions and wrong interpretations and inculcating false principles. . . . He who understands what history is and how history is written, and he alone, will be able, not only to choose between the works of value and the worthless, but to discriminate between credible and dubious statements and sound and fallacious deductions; (3) in the third place, the student gains by this method the ability to deal scientifically with the many-sided sources of information in war. For the same tests of 'good faith' and 'accuracy' and the determination of 'weight' which we learn to employ in dealing critically with historic sources must be applied surely, quickly and instinctively to all the bits of information which come to us through the fog of war, if we are to read the situation aright and not be misled into wrong measures.

In the staff class, a study is made of the Peninsula campaign. In October of this last year, I had the pleasure of being present at one of the exercises of this class. There are twenty members, captains, for the most part, with a few majors. The topic for investigation was the capture of Yorktown. Each member of the class was provided with copies of the *Records of the Rebellion*. The work assigned the class for a written report had been (1) to date the documents—determining the hour when they were issued for the purpose of determining the order of events; (2) to establish the facts; (3) to make a connected statement concerning the course of the engagement; and (4) to comment upon the operation from the point of view of military science. All the statements in the reports were supported by citations from the sources. The class exercise was intensely interesting. It was a genuine graduate seminar in which the best kind of critical training was being given and the most satisfactory results obtained. Here, I thought, is the training school for the future military historians of this country. Two years of the severe critical training in historical research given at Leavenworth ought to equip a man for independent research. Even in the second year, men of such maturity, keen intelligence, and unusual powers of application, as characterize the staff class, should be able to produce something worthy of publication. This volume of sources is, then, significant, as it serves as the foundation for a training in research in military history which is unique, I believe, in the military schools of the world. What has been said of the seriousness and the critical character of the work of the history department impressed me as being true of the school as a whole.

FRED MORROW FLING.

*A Political History of the State of New York, 1865-1869.* By HOMER ADOLPH STEBBINS, LL.B., Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, vol. LV., no. 1.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1913. Pp. 477.)

THE author's text is that in the quadrennium, 1865-1869, the state of New York "was in the process of a political reconstruction, which corresponds with and bears relationship to the wider early Reconstruction period in the South" (p. 407). This assertion is qualified in the preface by the observation that the Northern wave of disturbance in the reconstruction period was caused by political more than by social or economic disorders, and "was especially noticeable in the reorganization of political parties".

In the body of the work we find that the author's view of the political reconstruction of New York state brings into light two distinctive features. The first one was the effort of the more moderate Democratic party leaders, notably Dean Richmond, to free the party from the odium of its former doctrine that "the war is a failure", and to win the co-operation of the conservative Republican leaders in opposition to the Wade-Sumner-Stevens theories of Southern reconstruction, if not in active support of the later Johnsonian policies. The second salient feature was the rise of Tammany Hall to the leadership of the Democratic party in the state, a process completed by the fraudulent election of John T. Hoffman to the gubernatorial chair in 1868. These two movements are displayed chiefly in the discussions of four state campaigns, drawn from the columns of twenty-two newspapers, eight of them being the leading journals in New York city. Among the remaining fourteen the author stresses the testimony and editorial opinions of two Albany papers, the *Evening Journal* (Charles E. Smith), and the *Argus* (William Cassidy), of the *Utica Morning Herald* (Ellis H. Roberts), of the *Syracuse Daily Journal* (Carroll E. Smith), and of the *Rochester Union and Advertiser* (William Purcell).

It will thus be seen that Dr. Stebbins has adopted unreservedly the form of historical composition in which Professor McMaster was the pioneer, and his work displays both the virtues and defects of that method. He may be right in rejecting the memoirs and biographies of the period as of little value, but he is even more contemptuous of the information that might have been obtained from politicians and leaders of that age who still survive. He feels more confidence in a comparison of the opinions of the chosen editors. Therefore of the thirteen chapters that constitute the bulk of this volume, ten are devoted to the newspaper accounts of successive state elections; three of these chapters deal with the choice of minor state officers in 1865 and 1867, two with the gubernatorial election of 1866, four with the state and national campaign of 1868, and one with the first election of Conkling to the Senate in 1867.

Of the remaining four chapters, the first one in the book rushes through a "Social and Economic Survey of New York at the Close of the Civil War" (15 pages), the concluding chapter gives a brief summary of the narrative, one long chapter does full justice to the ill-starred constitutional convention of 1867, and one chapter, the best in the book, is entitled the Alliance of Wall Street and the Legislature. It contains the ever-stirring story of the contest between Drew and Vanderbilt over the Erie railway.

It is to be regretted that Dr. Stebbins chose to make this his only free excursion into the fertile territory of Big Business in politics. At the beginning of his account of the national nominating conventions of 1868, he labels such topics as "the excise, political personalities, the Tweed ring, the canal frauds and the Erie scandal", as "matters of local interest".

Surely in a political history of the state of New York, these are the matters of fundamental importance, and national politics may be often slurred over.

Page 279 contains the positive assertion that "from 1865 to 1870 the New York legislature was the plaything of the 'Rings'". Very true, but except for the glimpse of the Erie war, this book reveals but little of that sport. Here was an opportunity for an adequate analysis of the personnel of the two Republican factions and especially of the crowd that followed that great little man, Fenton; for an investigation of the ramifications of the unsavory Canal Ring among the machines of both parties; for something more than a fragmentary portrayal of the well-defined factions in New York city and Brooklyn and in Erie and Albany counties. To the rapid and lively narrative with which Congressman Alexander speeded through this same period in the third volume of his *Political History of the State of New York* Dr. Stebbins has added much that is valuable in detailed statement and in amplified discussion.

The bibliographical note is well done and the index is complete. There is a misprint in the second line on page 287, and, on page 300, a second glance is necessary to recognize under the name, Lewis F. Payne, that redoubtable champion and representative of the ancient régime, Louis F. Payn.

The full tale of Fenton and Weed and Conkling on the one side, and Seymour, Richmond, and Tweed on the other is yet to be told within one pair of covers.

C. H. L.

*Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz.*

Selected and edited by FREDERIC BANCROFT, on behalf of the Carl Schurz Memorial Committee. In six volumes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1913. Pp. xviii, 522; vii, 534; xiv, 508; xix, 528; xii, 531; xi, 496.)

A MAN of "unshaken courage, who knew no such thing as compromise on a principle, who never lost faith in American self-government;

and particularly . . . one whose belief in liberty and democracy was as fresh and as ardent in his last years as in his youth", so Carl Schurz is described in the preface to these volumes. "The lesson of moral courage, of intelligent and conscientious patriotism, of independent political thought, of unselfish political affiliation, and of constant political vigilance"—so Grover Cleveland characterized Schurz's career on his death in 1906.

The publication by his friends of the speeches and letters of Carl Schurz, as a memorial, is quite as much a service to the American public as an honor to the dead statesman; for these six volumes present a vivid and adequate survey of the whole course of American politics of the period. No political speeches ever had so wide a circulation as those Schurz delivered on civil service reform, Blaine, the tariff, free silver, and anti-imperialism; they were published literally by the millions, with a profound effect on the various political campaigns. Schurz's discussion of a subject exhausted all the arguments on his side. He wielded, not a rapier, but the sharpest of battle-axes; and his arguments, aimed with the greatest precision, fell precisely where they were aimed. He indulged in no imagery and no humor; he presented his facts with the acme of force and clarity; as he himself said of Charles Sumner, his sentences were "like rows of massive Doric columns" (III. 67).

While both speeches and letters are of historical value, the greater interest of these volumes is their complete revelation of the man. Schurz's singled-minded devotion to principle and his political honesty, as well as his personal limitations, are more clearly shown in these letters than in his published *Reminiscences*. So full is the epistolary record of his later life that the reader will greatly regret the unfortunate destruction by fire in 1866 of most of his correspondence (including many letters from Lincoln), comprising his early years in this country.

His was an extraordinary career—born in Germany in 1829, a revolutionist in 1848, a refugee to the United States in 1852, a candidate for lieutenant governor of Wisconsin in 1857, United States Minister to Spain in 1861, brigadier general in 1862, United States senator in 1869, Secretary of the Interior in 1877; a confidant and adviser of every president from Lincoln to Roosevelt, a leader in every great political reform to the day of his death, at the age of seventy-seven.

The keynote of his whole life was "liberty"—individual liberty of thought and action, and especially national standards of liberty. How vividly he felt on this subject is expressed in a letter to J. G. Schurman, in 1902:

Recent events have touched me perhaps more keenly than they have touched others. Can you imagine the feelings of a man who all his life has struggled for human liberty and popular government, who for that reason had to flee from his native country, who believed he had found what he sought in this Republic . . . and who at last, at the close of his life, sees that beloved Republic in the clutches of sinister powers which seduce and betray it into an abandonment of its most sacred principles



and traditions and push it into policies and practices even worse than those which once he had to flee from? (VI. 290.)

It is interesting to note that his first opposition to slavery was, as he wrote in 1855 (I. 16), because of its effect, not upon the slave, but upon the country, from

the demoralising influence of the slave-power upon the politicians of the North; the consequent partisanship of all political ideas of justice and especially the influence upon our foreign policy. When you ask me, "When will the United States interfere practically in the interest of the freedom of the people of the world?" I answer without hesitation and with unquestioning conviction, "As soon as the slaveholders have ceased to be a political power."

Schurz's personal freedom of action in relation to party ties always subjected him to attack; but his views of party morality were formed early and never changed. Thus in a letter in 1859, he wrote:

Perhaps it would do the party good to learn that in order to be victorious it must first be consistent and true, and that without deserving success it will never have any . . . Expediency will always be for us a dangerous stumbling-block. We must command the esteem and confidence of the people in order to command their votes (I. 44).

And to John Wanamaker, he wrote in 1889:

I count myself one of those who think it vastly more important that the Government be well administered than that it be administered by this or that set of men; and who, while recognizing the usefulness of party as a means to a good end, support whatever appears to them of public benefit, and oppose whatever they consider bad, no matter what party label it may bear (V. 19).

Perhaps no better statement can be found of the views of the two schools of politicians—those who believe in reforming the party from within, and those who favor independent action outside of the party—than in the lively correspondence between Schurz and Henry Cabot Lodge in 1884, at the outset of the Blaine campaign (IV. 215).

His opponents sharply criticized Schurz as a turncoat, but they forgot that, if at times he felt obliged to leave his party, it was never for personal gain, but always to promote what he believed to be his country's welfare. He proved his sincerity more than once, by absolutely refusing high office from his new party associates. Those who really wish to know the unselfishness of the man should read the account of his refusal of an appointment as major general, in order that a friend might have it, and of the ignorance of his friend of the fact until informed by the editor of these volumes, after Schurz's death (I. 222).

Schurz's strong views on the reform of the civil service were formed early in life, and are foreshadowed in a strikingly described interview with Abraham Lincoln, in July, 1860:

I was with Lincoln yesterday. He is the same kindly old fellow, quite as unpretentious and ingenuous as ever. . . . He wears a linen

sack-coat and a hat of doubtful age, but his appearance is neat and cleanly. We talked in my room nearly two hours. I was lying on my bed resting, when he came, and he insisted on my remaining so. He talked of the Presidential election with as much placid, cheerful frankness as if he were discussing the potato crop. He told me of all the letters and visits with which he was flooded, and said he was not answering those asking for office and the like. "Men like you," he added, "Who have real merit and do the work, are always too proud to ask for anything; those who do nothing are always the most clamorous for office, and very often get it because it is the only way to get rid of them. But if I am elected, they will find a tough customer to deal with, and you may depend upon it I shall know how to distinguish deserving men from the drones."

"All right, old Abe!" thought I (I. 119).

Another remark of Lincoln's on the subject, in 1865, as reported by Sumner, is given by Schurz (IV. 436): "Behold this spectacle! We have conquered the rebellion, but here is a greater danger to the country than the rebellion [the office seekers]."

Schurz's active work for the reform began perhaps with his letter of March 29, 1869 (I. 481), and his speech in the Senate, January 27, 1871 (II. 122), which even at that early date contains practically all the arguments on which this great reform has been based and brought to near completion. When Secretary of the Interior, he enforced the merit system in his own department, long before the enactment of the civil service law; and he wrote to Garfield in 1880 (IV. 2): "I know from four years of executive experience, that honest government is impossible with the civil service as a party machine, and the public offices used as patronage and perquisite."

Nothing in Schurz's letters is more striking than his prescience as to many of the problems that later confronted the American people. As early as December, 1856 (I. 25), he predicted Buchanan's administration as the end of the Democratic party; and that the slavery question could not be decided "without powder"; his speech on the currency and national banks in 1874 is applicable to present-day conditions; his policy on Indian affairs became law many years later; he was one of the earliest advocates of forest conservation. As early as 1889, he wrote: "The use of money in elections . . . has really become a great evil—probably the greatest danger now threatening the vitality of our Republican institutions."

His gift of vision is shown in one of the most striking and eloquent passages in these letters in his characterization of Lincoln, written as early as 1864, to a boyhood friend in Germany:

He is a well-developed child of nature and is not skilled in polite phrases and poses. But he is a man of profound feeling, correct and firm principles, and incorruptible honesty. His motives are unquestionable, and he possesses to a remarkable degree the characteristic, God-given trait of this people, sound commonsense. . . . I have criticised

him often and severely, and later I found that he was right. I also know his failings; they are those of a good man. . . . He personifies the people, and that is the secret of his popularity. His Administration is the most representative that the history of the world has ever seen. I will make a prophecy that may now sound peculiar. In fifty years, perhaps much sooner, Lincoln's name will be inscribed close to Washington's on this American Republic's roll of honor. And there it will remain for all time (I. 250-251).

Besides Schurz's own correspondence, these volumes contain many letters of extraordinary interest written to him. A note from Greeley, November 10, 1872 (II. 443), after his defeat, has a pathetic touch:

*"Private forever.*

"My dear Sir: I wish I could say with what an agony of emotion I subscribe myself

Gratefully yours,

Horace Greeley."

The letters from Lincoln in 1860 and 1862, from Hayes in 1876 and 1877, from Bayard before and during Cleveland's first administration, and from Roosevelt in 1905, throw much light on political conditions.

Schurz, of course, had his limitations and these letters reveal them. Nothing helps a reformer more than a twinkle in the eye; none of Schurz's writings show a trace of a sense of humor. He was, moreover, intensely dogmatic, with the profoundest conviction of the absolute correctness of his own views. Nothing irritated his opponents more than this. Like many reformers, he was inclined to see his own particular reform out of focus, and to attack even his friends if they asserted the relatively greater importance of other matters.

Schurz has frequently been criticized for his own habit of criticism of his friends—yet this was but a part of the perfect honesty of the man and of the freedom of action which he expected in others as well as in himself. His attitude is well explained in a letter to Lincoln in 1862:

I do not know how many friends you have sincere enough to tell you things which it may not be pleasant to hear: I assure you, they are not the worst. In risking the amenities of undisturbed private relations they fulfil a duty, which many, who call themselves friends, have not the courage to understand and appreciate (I. 214).

So in writing to Hayes in 1877 he said:

I would rather speak of more agreeable things, but, as a friend, I deem it my duty to say to you what thousands of conscientious men think, although, possibly, they shrink from making their thoughts known to you (III. 361).

It must be admitted that some of his friends, notably President Cleveland (see the correspondence in volume IV.), sometimes felt that a less strong sense of duty in this respect might be more helpful to those who were struggling against odds of which Schurz was ignorant.

On the other hand he was as ready to praise an opponent for good acts as to assail him for bad; a striking example of which is to be had

in the pleasant letter to President Roosevelt in 1905, congratulating him on the Russo-Japanese peace treaty (VI. 431). And he never found fault for the mere sake of finding fault, but, as he wrote to Carnegie in 1902 (VI. 296): "I am dreadfully tired of faultfinding, and my heart longs for something great to praise. But if things remain in the present state—I shall again have to do the hard duty."

A letter from Thomas F. Bayard in 1886 (IV. 440) describing Cleveland is equally applicable to Schurz: "If I wanted to describe the position and objects of the President, I should say that he cares less to please *anybody* than to render true and permanent public service."

Perhaps his whole conception of life, and the best illustration of his own life may be summed up in the following words, written when he was only twenty-eight, to his old friend and teacher Kinkel (I. 24): "To have aims that lie outside ourselves and our immediate circle is a great thing, and well worth the sacrifice."

CHARLES WARREN.

*Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois.* Herausgegeben von JULIUS GOEBEL, Professor an der Staatsuniversität von Illinois. [Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, Jahrgang 1912, vol. XII.] (Chicago: Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois. 1913. Pp. 601.)

THE *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, begun in 1901 as a quarterly, has already contributed much of interest to our knowledge of the Germans in the United States, particularly in the West. The journal now becomes an annual publication, releasing the German-American Historical Society of Illinois from the responsibility of frequent publication, which might in course of time lead to the temptation of admitting material of inferior value. The *Jahrbuch* before us maintains a high standard, and should receive a warm welcome by all those interested in that fascinating racial composite, the American people. After the editor's preface the volume begins with an article by Vincent H. Todd, on Christoph von Graffenried and the Founding of New Bern, North Carolina. The author has had access to the little known French and German manuscripts of Graffenried,<sup>1</sup> and to the authoritative account of the life of Graffenried by W. F. von Mülinen.<sup>2</sup> The story is well told, interesting

<sup>1</sup> The reviewer has examined the originals of the Graffenried manuscripts in Switzerland, and carefully compared them side by side. His estimate of their comparative merits may be found in *German-American Annals*, November-December number, 1913. There also will be found the German Graffenried manuscript, printed for the first time, together with a group of ten letters of German settlers in Carolina in the year 1711.

<sup>2</sup> *Christoph von Graffenried, Landgraf von Carolina, Gründer von Neu-Bern, zumeist nach Familienpapieren und Copien seiner amtlichen Berichte*, von Wolfgang Friedrich von Mülinen, *Neujahrsblatt herausgegeben vom Historischen Verein des Kantons Bern für 1897* (Bern, 1896).

material is brought to bear from various printed sources, and American students of colonial history will be grateful for this trustworthy and readable account in the English language. The original contribution of Mr. Todd is the proof which he furnishes, that definite assurances, though subsequently denied, had been made from England to emigrants from the Rhine country, and that thereby was given an incentive to the sudden rise of the Palatine emigration in 1709-1710. The second article, by the editor, Julius Goebel, presents a series of sixty letters, requests, etc., of German emigrants from Nassau-Dillenburg in the year 1709. These furnish a microscopic view of the distressing economic conditions, the crushing burdens of taxation, failures of crops, and evils of overpopulation that caused the great German exodus of this period. Most of them are petitions for the privilege of leaving the country, with urgent reasons stated. These requests need not have been, and the reviewer thinks in many cases were not, written by the emigrants themselves, but were set up with the aid of friends, agents, or ministers; certain forms obtained, couched in phraseology characteristic of the time. The reviewer bases this conclusion upon what he saw of similar material in the archives of Switzerland.

The next article, by Alexander Franz, author of *Die Kolonisation des Mississippitals* (1906), corrects the error of overestimating the number of early German immigrants into the Mississippi Valley. Mr. Franz examined the ship-lists between 1718 and 1721 at New Orleans, and brings to light a mass of new material. His conclusion is important, viz., that the arrivals, who should be numbered by hundreds not by thousands, were fewer but the survivors far greater in number than is generally believed. The lurid tales of loss of life have been greatly exaggerated. Five articles in the *Jahrbuch* come from the pen of H. A. Rattermann, the revered Nestor among searchers into the history of the Germans in the United States. One is on German-American journalism from 1800 to 1840, another on music in the United States before 1850. In answer to the question put directly to the reviewer (p. 380), he wishes to say, that Mr. Rattermann has brought forward abundant (though mostly not new) evidence, that the Germans made music in America before 1850, but not that they made America musical. This great achievement followed later, when America welcomed some of the world's greatest musical leaders, such as Thomas, Damrosch, Seidl, Bergmann, Gericke, Paur, who were Germans, and hosts of humbler German artists who entered American homes as music-masters. Mr. Rattermann's sympathetic sketch of the career and character of the refugee Christian Esselen (editor of *Atlantis*) furnishes an example worthy of imitation.

Otto Lohr's article in the *Jahrbuch* has already appeared in English, entitled *The First Germans in North America and the German Element of New Netherland* (Stechert, New York, 1912). Mr. Lohr shows us that a large number of the leading spirits of New Amsterdam derived their origin not from Holland, but from Germany. The one regret about this investigation is its incompleteness. Not until greater progress is

made toward exhausting the material should conclusions such as are drawn at the close of the article be attempted. In the German reprint of the *Jahrbuch* the foot-notes have been omitted; this of course deprives the article of its convincing character. The Germans of Chicago and Stephen A. Douglas in 1854, by F. I. Herriott, is a valuable contribution to the subject and a sign of growing recognition of the decisive German influence at the period of the great antislavery crisis. In this connection the article of William E. Dodd, "The Fight for the Northwest" (*AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVI, 786-788), should be remembered. Bordering on the subject is the article in the *Jahrbuch*, by P. Selby, "Lincoln and German Patriotism". The limitations of space will not allow the consideration of a number of other articles, on the history of settlements (Quincy, Ill., by H. Bornmann and Golden, Ill., by H. Emminga), genealogical (*e. g.* the Continental Branch of the Washington Family, by C. J. Kirch), and biographical sketches (G. P. Upton). The volume contains over six hundred interesting and well-printed pages. It would be a great convenience to find the titles of articles (like chapter headings) printed at the top of the right-hand page, and an index would add to the usefulness of the *Jahrbuch*.

A. B. FAUST.

*Histoire du Canada.* Par FRANÇOIS-XAVIER GARNEAU. Cinquième édition, revue, annotée et publiée par son petit-fils HECTOR GARNEAU. Tome I. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1913. Pp. 610.)

FOR several years past it has been known to students of Canadian history that a new edition of Garneau was in preparation at the hands of the author's grandson. Both by scholarly attainments and early contact with public affairs M. Hector Garneau is well fitted to discharge the pious task thus undertaken. It is manifest alike from the scale and the method of this edition that his purpose has been to bring the *opus* of his ancestor into line with the latest results of research in the field traversed. Few writers of Canadian birth have left works which deserve and lend themselves to the minute care which is here displayed. But in this case the work deserved to be edited and the editor has proved worthy of the work.

Born in 1809, François-Xavier Garneau passed his youth amid those political conflicts which were the life of Lower Canada for a generation prior to the disturbances of 1837. Canadian historiography then amounted to little more than Charlevoix. For the fifty years following the Cession no spade work had been done. It even remained to create the instinct of historical study in a community where racial recriminations filled the air and where Garneau himself was taunted with belonging to the vanquished who could have no history.

Under such conditions it was a notable achievement to rise above circumstances and write a book which is marked by fairness of spirit and familiarity with the data then available. Moreover Garneau as an



historian confronted a third difficulty no less trying than racial antagonism and the incomplete state of his materials. One who had steeped himself in Michelet and Guizot was not likely to find a sympathetic audience in the Lower Canada of 1845. As his grandson here states, "Garneau se sépare nettement de Charlevoix, Faillon et Ferland. Il ne voit pas les hommes et les choses sous le seul angle religieux. Il comprend mal que l'activité française se borne à la construction de monastères et à la conversion des sauvages." What liberalism then meant amidst surroundings which were not liberal may be inferred from the following words written by Garneau to M. Pierre Chauveau in 1856: "Le respect que j'ai toujours eu pour mes convictions et pour l'indépendance de mes opinions en jugeant les hommes et les choses, dans mon *Histoire du Canada*, devait peut-être ruiner mon avenir. Mais je savais d'avance le conséquence de ma conduite. Puisque j'ai été un pareil sacrifice, qui peut atteindre mes enfants, j'étais prêt à faire le sacrifice, non moins sensible pour moi, de votre approbation."

In short Garneau merits the praise of having labored honestly, faithfully, and intelligently to write the history of Canada at a time when such a task was encompassed by every imaginable difficulty. And he strove with such singleness of purpose that M. Hector Garneau can truly say: "Au moment de fermer sa paupière pour toujours, en jetant un dernier regard sur son œuvre, il pouvait répéter après Michelet: 'Ma vie fut en ce livre, elle a passé en lui.'"

The present edition of Garneau is the fifth. The first three were issued during the author's lifetime and in 1883 a fourth appeared under the care of his son, M. Alfred Garneau. As now annotated by M. Hector Garneau the work comes to us from Paris, forming a part of the *Bibliothèque France-Amérique* and being prefaced with an essay by Gabriel Hanotaux. Aside from a chapter on the settlement of Cape Breton, the portion already published reaches only to the treaty of Utrecht but it is sufficiently long to illustrate the method followed by M. Hector Garneau and his desire to present a definitive edition.

Apart from the luminous preface of twenty-three pages which is supplied by M. Hanotaux, the chief adjuncts of the text are an introduction by M. Hector Garneau (in which he furnishes important details regarding the life of his grandfather), an elaborate apparatus of foot-notes and a series of appendixes which runs to almost a hundred pages. These last remind one in their extent, though not in their pugnacity, of the appendixes that Freeman added to his *History of the Norman Conquest*. They also form the most characteristic feature of the edition. In these *excursus* as in the foot-notes M. Garneau has sought to amplify statements which were left incomplete in the text either from the exigencies of narrative or from the relatively imperfect state of the materials which were available two generations ago.

Alike in notes and appendixes will be found a valuable mass of bibliographical reference and critical comment, gathered from a wide area. M. Hector Garneau shows himself familiar with sources and literature.

His instincts are those of the scholar and his ancestral liberalism is tempered throughout by fairness. While aiming at exact and disinterested comment he does not wholly shun the paths of controversy, as witness the following excerpt from his appendix L.

Certains historiens, comme Parkman, ont blâmé l'envoi de criminels au Canada. Faut-il rappeler que ce qui était une exception en France fut la pratique en Angleterre du xvi<sup>e</sup> à la fin du xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle? Si bien que Bacon écrivait en 1612 (*Essays*, 'On Plantation') à propos de la colonie du juge Popham à Sagadahoc (Maine, 1606-1607): "It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of the people and *wicked condemned men* to be the people with whom you plant;" et que Dr. Johnson pouvait dire en 1769, sans trahir la vérité, en parlant des colons américains: "Sir, they are a race of convicts."

"Sans trahir la vérité" may sound sweeping to some ears, but we do not pause here to raise a question of statistics, still less of proportion.

In mechanical features as well as in quality of annotation this edition is greatly in advance of its predecessors. It remains to quote an important statement which M. Hector Garneau makes in the introduction regarding his attitude towards the original text.

"Le lecteur trouvera, en outre, dans cette édition la pensée intégrale de l'historien. Certains passages, presque des pages entières, qui apparaissent dans les deux premières éditions, furent supprimées dans les éditions postérieures. Nous les rétablissons aujourd'hui. Il nous a paru que c'était faire acte de loyauté et de réparation envers la mémoire de l'auteur. Garneau n'appartenait à aucun parti politique. Il était sans préjugés de race et sans passion sectaire. Avant tout, il avait horreur de mensonge. Jamais, d'ailleurs, il ne répondit aux attaques de ses critiques. Nous aimons à croire que le lecteur de bonne foi ne suspectera ni son désir d'impartialité ni sa probité intellectuelle."

CHARLES W. COLBY.

*The Viceroy of New Spain.* By DONALD E. SMITH, Ph.D. [University of California, Publications in History, vol. I., no. 2.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1913. Pp. 99-293.)

*The Viceroy of New Spain* is the first volume to appear in any language treating exclusively of the viceregal institution in Spanish America. However the study is not a general treatise on the whole institution, as one would expect from the title, but is limited to the last third of the eighteenth century.

Professor Smith laments the fact, which is only too true, that previous authors, who have treated Spanish-American administration, have relied almost entirely upon the *Laws of the Indies*. This fact, however, does not justify his ignoring these laws completely. An examination shows too that he has confined his efforts to a few sources, for the volume is based almost entirely upon the "Instruccion" of Viceroy Revilla Gigedo to his successor and the Ordinance of Intendants of New Spain. It is unfortunate in view of the opportunities for using Spanish and

Mexican archives, that the author limited himself to the materials in the Bancroft collection of the University of California. A work on the viceroy which makes no use of the royal instructions or the residencias can hardly be considered complete.

An introductory chapter gives in résumé the contents of the volume. In the chapter on the Relations of the Viceroy with the Home Government, the methods of controlling the viceroy are discussed. The general conclusions are: (1) that there was no limit to the scope of interference of the home government, (2) that the viceroys referred everything to Spain, (3) that the vast amount of correspondence and the timidity of the officials resulted in the slow pace of the administration, and (4) that, as the Council of Indies was a body of experts, it tended to perform all the duties and to leave little to the control of the viceroys.

After warning against the "error of assuming that the duties of the viceroy could easily and accurately be classified under the heads of civil, military and ecclesiastical", the author proceeds to an erroneous classification of the powers of the viceroy. According to Professor Smith, the viceroy's control over the civil administration was derived from his commission as governor, his power to manage the military affairs from his commission as captain-general, and his control of ecclesiastical matters from his title of "vice-patron". This classification makes the name viceroy a meaningless title (chapters III.-V.).

The viceroy was the direct representative of the crown and as such possessed administrative—which included civil, military, and ecclesiastical—judicial, and legislative powers, either direct or supervisory, affecting the whole viceroyalty. In addition to the office of viceroy, he was local governor of the district around Mexico, captain-general of a still larger area, and president of the audiencia whose seat was in the capital. In the exercise of these offices his powers were the same as those of the other local governors, captains-general, and presidents of audiencias, whose districts lay within the viceroyalty of Mexico.

There is also a chapter on the Reforms of Galvez, which presents little more than an analysis of the Ordinance of Intendants of New Spain.

The best that can be said of the book is that it makes available to English readers a great deal of information regarding the viceroy, which has been gleaned from a few Spanish sources. Error in analysis and failure to use other materials, however, greatly diminishes the usefulness of the work.

The typographical make-up of the volume is excellent and augurs well for this new series of publications by the University of California. It is to be hoped that no future numbers will appear lacking in a table of contents, an index, and running headings.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

## MINOR NOTICES

*Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1911.* Volume I. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1913, pp. 842.) Besides the usual reports of the annual meeting of the Association and of the Pacific Coast Branch, and of the conference of historical societies and conference of archivists, this volume contains sixteen substantive contributions to historical knowledge. The list is as follows: The Archives of the Venetian Republic, by Theodore F. Jones; Materials for the History of Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, by Sidney B. Fay; The Materials for the Study of the English Cabinet in the Eighteenth Century, by Edward R. Turner; François de Guise and the Taking of Calais, by Paul van Dyke; Factions in the English Privy Council under Elizabeth, by Conyers Read; Anglo-Dutch Relations, 1671-1672, by Edwin W. Pahlow; American-Japanese Intercourse prior to the Advent of Perry, by Inazo Nitobé; Colonial Society in America, by Bernard Moses; French Diplomacy and American Politics, 1794-1795, by James A. James; The Insurgents of 1811, by D. R. Anderson; The Tariff and the Public Lands from 1828 to 1833, by Raynor G. Wellington; The "Bargain of 1844" as the Original of the Wilmot Proviso, by Clark E. Persinger; Monroe and the Early Mexican Revolutionary Agents, by Isaac J. Cox; Public Opinion in Texas preceding the Revolution, by Eugene C. Barker; Relations of America with Spanish America, 1720-1744, by H. W. V. Temperley; The Genesis of the Confederation of Canada, by Cephas D. Allin. A handlist of European historical societies is also given. The report of the annual conference of archivists includes a paper read at Buffalo on the lessons of the fire of March 29, 1911, in the New York state capitol, by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, one on those which may be drawn from the fire at the state capitol of Missouri, by Professor Jonas Viles, Mr. D. N. McArthur's account of the archives of the Dominion of Canada, and Mr. Alexander Fraser's account of those of Ontario. The twelfth annual report of the Public Archives Commission includes an inventory of the archives of Colorado by Professor James F. Willard and a list of commissions, instructions, and additional instructions issued to the royal governors and others in America, edited by Professor Charles M. Andrews of Yale. This fills one hundred and thirty-six pages and is an "instrument de travail" of primary importance to the student of colonial history. The remainder of the volume, except the excellent general index, is occupied with Miss Griffin's annual bibliography entitled *Writings on American History, 1911*, the third and last of this annual series to be printed in the annual reports of the Association, since hereafter the bibliography is to appear as an independent publication of the Yale University Press.

*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.* Third Series, volume VI. (London, the Society, 1912, pp. vii, 261.) This volume contains the presidential address by Dr. Cunningham, who, starting from the lessons of the Glasgow Historical Exhibition, took as his theme the "family as

a political unit" and emphasized the importance of family history, chiefly in Scottish affairs. We have also an Alexander Prize Essay by Mr. H. G. Richardson, *The Parish Clergy of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, and a laborious paper on *Commonwealth Charters* by Mr. B. L. K. Henderson. An interesting review of the reign of Charles I. drawn from ballads and other contemporary poetry is by Professor Firth. Another brief contribution is by Mr. C. K. Webster on *Castlereagh*. He uses Castlereagh's "Projet de Déclaration" at the Congress of Vienna and the relations of Castlereagh and Metternich, 1815-1817, as revealed in Foreign Office documents, to maintain that Castlereagh, "more than any other statesman of the alliance was the guardian of the peace of Europe", and to maintain that the system of peace and diplomacy involved in the quadruple alliance was "his invention and by him imposed on Europe" (pp. 87-88). The subject is unfortunately still highly controversial and the author makes a plea for the better use of unpublished diplomatic documents of this period.

But more than a third of this volume is devoted to the two remaining papers and they deserve this space. Both are contributions to the history of commercial corporations and to the rapidly increasing literature on British trading and colonizing companies. In the paper on the *Eastland Company in Prussia, 1579-1585*, the joint authors, Professor Szelagowski and Dr. Gras, give an admirable example of fairly intensive work based to a considerable degree on Continental material which has been ignored by most if not all English writers. The paper by Mr. Jenkinson on the *Records of the English African Companies* is of quite a different character. His researches have been largely affected by Scott's recent volumes on joint-stock companies, and haste and compression have prevented the author from making a fuller explanation of his preliminary investigations. He argues in somewhat varied fashion for a further analysis of documentary material; and again points out that the records are not drawn up for the "benefit of posterity" and consequently that "Record study should be a dual study, approaching its subject from within and from without". The use of records "should depend entirely on an understanding of their relations in the past with the past" (p. 186). In particular he urges the study of parallel cases among public and private records, the use of contemporary narrative history, and of the charters. This may seem obvious and certainly the detailed information regarding the African companies contained in this article is not great. But the general impression gained from the paper is good.

A. L. P. D.

*Beiträge zur Geschichte von Lesbos im vierten Jahrhundert v. Chr.*  
Von Dr. Hans Pistorius. [Jenaer Historische Arbeiten herausgegeben  
von Alexander Cartellieri und Walther Judeich, Heft 5.] (Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1913. pp. 178.) In the opinion of the author the com-

plete history of Lesbos must await further excavations, which will undoubtedly bring to light much new archaeological and inscriptional material. The circumstance, however, that no monographic history of the island has appeared in many years gives a reasonable ground for the publication of this little volume. The chief aim of the author is evidently to determine with precision the chronological order and historical connections of political events. No attempt is made to present even in meagre outline any phase of Lesbian life. Material for a picture of the society or culture of the island is undoubtedly scant; but the author seems to take no interest in such matters. Although in his introduction he mentions Koldewey, *Die Antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos* (1890), he pays no further attention to archaeological matters. His appendix on the inscriptions of the island is philological rather than historical. In a word, the whole treatment is exceedingly dry and repellant. The author has brought to the work a painstaking diligence that is heartily commendable but gives no evidence of constructive power. In this respect the volume is in a class with many American doctorate dissertations—treatises which may prove useful to others, but which reveal no high order of intellect.

The student of fourth-century Hellenic politics may find something of value, for instance, in the author's exposition of *Inscriptiones Graecae*, II. 5, no. 18 b (p. 37 f.), which throws light on the formation of the "Second Athenian Confederacy". Again, on pages 45-47 will be found a useful interpretation of a very interesting inscription relating to the importation of grain into Mytilene.

In his "Rückblick" (pp. 92-95) the author states that the fourth century B. C. was one of the most significant periods of Hellenic history, and that the general trend of Greek politics was reflected in the vicissitudes of Lesbos. It is to the credit of Athens that such stability, and consequent prosperity, as the Aegean islands enjoyed during this period were mainly due to her supremacy.

G. W. B.

*La République Romaine: Les Conflits Politique et Sociaux.* Par G. Bloch, Professeur à la Sorbonne. [Bibliothèque de Philosophie Scientifique.] (Paris, Ernest Flammarion, 1913, pp. 333.) The purpose of this book is to set forth in a summary way what is already known of certain phases of Roman history. Consequently, the sources are rarely cited; modern writers are nowhere mentioned, and there is little discussion of theories at variance with those which the author adopts (cf. pp. 26-33, 96-109). All this makes for brevity, directness, and lucidity. The same qualities are secured by the limitation which M. Bloch has put on his subject. By confining his attention to domestic affairs, he makes it possible for us to follow, with scarcely a break in the narrative, topics, like the land question, or the struggle between the orders, which run through decades or even centuries. However, this method of dealing



with the subject leaves out of account the most important side of the history of Rome. The great contribution which she made to civilization lies in the fact that she established law and order throughout the world, and brought unity and harmony out of variety and discord. A narrative, like the one before us, limited to the political and social conflicts in the ancient city, must in the nature of things be a story of discord, which reaches its appropriate climax in the confusion following the death of Caesar. Furthermore, it is impossible to understand political and economic conditions at Rome without a knowledge of foreign affairs. For instance, one cannot hope to account for the downfall of the senatorial régime toward the close of the second century and for the career of Marius without having an intimate acquaintance with the Numidian scandal, and such knowledge we cannot get from the half page devoted to the subject in book III., chapter II.

The treatment of economic questions is suggestive and interesting. Cases in point are the discussion of *nexum* (cf. p. 44), of the substitution of the vine and the olive tree for grain by the farmers of Italy (cf. pp. 151-152), of the appearance of malaria (cf. p. 155), of the number and price of slaves (cf. p. 156 f.), and of the effect on the cost of living of the increased circulation of money (cf. p. 157 f.).

There is no index and the chapter headings are very brief. These defects make it difficult to find where a particular subject is treated, but taken all in all the work contains an admirable summary of the topics which the author aims to cover.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

*The Early Persecutions of the Christians.* By Leon Hardy Canfield, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, vol. LV., no. 2.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1913, pp. 215.) The period dealt with in this work ends with the reign of Hadrian. In selecting this field for his investigations the author chose well-trodden ground. His justification, however, may be found in the fact that the subject of the early relations between the Christian Church and the Roman State still bristles with unsolved problems. Though no new evidence is presented, and no fresh solutions are offered, a decided touch of novelty is found in the manner in which the conclusions of other students of the subject are rearranged. Professor Canfield does not blindly follow the authority or guidance of any author, even though his verdicts may be found scattered through the writings of others. All the primary and secondary sources are carefully if not conclusively analyzed, which gives to the work the character of a clearing-house statement. In the first chapter, which deals with the Legal Basis of the Persecutions, no attention is paid to the constitutional questions which were involved. The conflict did not arise merely from statute and intolerance, but was seated in theory and constitution. This alone accounts for the fact that

the Empire was pitted against the Church for three centuries. Mommsen's view is accepted that there was no special legislation on the subject of Christianity prior to the time of Trajan. The author agrees with him that the Christians were tried and punished by the exercise of the unlimited power of *coercitio* possessed by all the Roman magistrates who shared in the *imperium*, and yet he interprets a statement of Suetonius, referring to the action of Nero, as meaning that the suppression of the Christians was "a police regulation of a *permanent* nature" (p. 50). A permanent police regulation imposed by the highest authority in the state would have the force of law for the whole Empire.

The author follows a conservative tone in dealing with the sufferings of the Christians and the activities of the imperial authorities in their regard. He admits nothing which is not vouched for by the texts which form the second part of his work. When he goes beyond his texts, however, his conclusions are not always convincing. Thus (p. 84) he accounts for the fact that "the Christians generally suffered more in Asia Minor than elsewhere during this period" on the ground that Asia Minor "was the very centre of all ecstatic religions, and the worship of the emperor was the one thing which held their worshipers together". Without questioning the accuracy of the last statement, one may ask does not the fact that the Christians were perhaps more numerous in Asia Minor than elsewhere offer a readier if more prosaic reason why they suffered more there than elsewhere?

PATRICK J. HEALY.

*Histoire des Dogmes.* Par J. Tixeront. In three volumes. [Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique.] (Paris, Victor Lecoffre, [1905] 1909-1912, pp. xi, 475; viii, 534, 583.) The *Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique* was begun in 1897 as an extensive treatment of church history, *mise au point des progrès de la critique de notre temps*. Under the direction of Mgr. Batiffol many specialists have contributed volumes meritorious in scholarship and sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority. For this series the history of dogma to the time of Charlemagne was undertaken by the Abbé Tixeront, one of the earliest pupils of Duchesne, now dean of the faculty of theology of Lyons. As the first production from a French Catholic source of a full treatment of the doctrinal history of the ancient church the work has been eagerly welcomed, as the numerous editions show. An English version is published by Herder (St. Louis, vol. I., 1910).

My part, said Duchesne, is to decipher old texts, to estimate their value, to say what they contain. M. Tixeront may be said to have furnished a history of dogma parallel to the master's church history. With minute and conscientious care he tells what the documents contain and modestly estimates his work as an aid to study rather than a final view. Students have already found the work unusually helpful for a knowledge of the material and are indebted to the foot-notes for an admirable bibli-

ography in which, to the reproach of our German brethren, English and American contributions are mentioned abundantly and with cordial appreciation. The erudition of M. Tixeront is impressive.

The treatment naturally differs from that of Protestant authors in the fuller attention given to topics of interest to the Catholic churchman, Mariology, the Cult of the Saints, Angelology, and the matter of the Image Controversy. It differs, moreover, by the constraint of a problem, which the Jesuit Father de la Brière describes as the problem of explaining "how a doctrine belonged objectively to the deposit of divine revelation transmitted by the Apostles even though that doctrine may seem to have been unknown to Christian antiquity, and may have been the occasion of prolonged discord among Catholic teachers, when it asserted itself in the light of day, before conquering the unanimous adhesion of the teaching Church". M. Tixeront can see that the dogmatic system was in the beginning, being taught by indirection or implication even where the expression was confused or erroneous or partial. It may be said that he does not enable his readers to see it. The inquirer who is prepared to hear of the Christian religious principle absorbing and transforming spiritual conceptions found in the Greek and Roman environment of the mission field will not be gratified. The historian needs also to account for heresy as well as orthodoxy. Save when, under patristic influence, he explains by moral delinquency, M. Tixeront is not burdened by that need. The Paulicians, mentioned in a foot-note, are called a branch of the Manichaeans. The Spanish Adoptionists are explained by the bacillus of Nestorianism. But M. Tixeront is not the only historian of dogma who ignores the vital contribution made by F. C. Conybeare's *Key of Truth*.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

*Oeuvres de Jacques de Hemricourt.* Publiées par le Chevalier C. de Borman, avec la collaboration de A. Bayot. Tome premier. *Le Miroir des Nobles de Hesbaye.* (Brussels, Kiessling et Cie., 1910, pp. 490.) "Veriteis est que ly plus noble et ly plus necessaire chose qui sort a creature humain ultre ses v sens corporeis, ch'est memoire." Such is the phrase with which the conscientious Jacques de Hemricourt introduces his string of genealogical items anent the noble families of Hesbaye—a region covering parts of Liège, Limburg, and Brabant. It is a voluminous budget of brief biographies of men and women, almost wholly unknown to fame, thrown together without literary skill, indeed, but all pervaded with such a human interest that the records become readable. There is actual vitality in the fragments of information. Portraits become more or less distinct. For it was a real labor of love on the part of this learned chevalier of Liège (b. 1333—d. 1403) at which he worked for forty-five years, unwilling to show the result to any one until it was polished to his taste.

Until the Royal Commission of History undertook the task of having

the original text printed, the *Miroir* was but dimly accessible in the frame of Salbray's version, "*mis du vieux, en nouveaux langage*". As this was made from a copy of the original, imperfect even before the editor began to furbish it up to suit his taste and that of the seventeenth century (published in Brussels in 1613), the result was not satisfactory. Nor has the edition issued by Canon Jalbeau (Liège, 1791) any greater value, so that this is the first real introduction of Jacques de Hemricourt himself to the world. Another volume is yet to come with introduction and index. Meantime there is much to be quarried from this mine of data of fourteenth-century family history.

*Chroniques Liégeoises.* Éditées par le Chanoine Sylv. Balau. Tome premier. [Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire.] (Brussels, Kiessling et Cie., 1913, pp. xxxi, 590.) This first volume of Liège chronicles issued by the Belgian Academy, contains chronicles and fragments of records very unequal in value. Extracts concerning a period anterior to Henri de Gueldre, fragments of Jean de Warnant, the Latin Chronicle of Jean de Stavelot, touch on little that was not already known. In those treating of the reigns of John of Bavaria and John of Horne, however, there are certain details that are new but not important, although both have been made use of by other chroniclers. Two of the manuscripts containing Merica's *De Cladibus Leodiensium* have an anonymous continuation recording the deaths of Charles the Bold and Louis de Bourbon. The editor has made the most painstaking collation of all the manuscripts extant and has given a table with minute descriptions of each and its location. Yet as a whole this volume is rather of antiquarian than historical interest except to local historians. The second volume is still to come and the index is reserved for that.

*Traité des Hérétiques: a savoir, si on les doit persécuter, et comment on se doit conduire avec eux, selon l'Avis, Opinion, et Sentence de plusieurs Auteurs, tant Anciens, que Modernes.* Par Sébastien Castellion. Édition nouvelle publiée par les soins de A. Olivet, pasteur de l'Église de Genève. Préface de E. Choisy, professeur à l'Université de Genève. (Geneva, A. Jullien, 1913, pp. x, 198.) Surely, if any book deserved a reprint, it was the little book, so long forgotten, that lay at the very root of modern tolerance; and especially so because that little book has now grown one of the rarest in the world. Rare it is in any form, but rarest of all in its most eloquent, that in Castellion's own French vernacular, which now is given back to us by a Genevan press. Only three copies, indeed, are known, and those all in Swiss libraries.

Not that the little book was always rare. True, the group of exiled scholars who dared to put it forth on the morrow of Servetus's death by fire had not the capital to make the edition huge. Yet one finds it everywhere during the half century that follows—now fostering the hate of

persecution in the Alpine valleys of the Grisons, now nerving to a novel party creed the *Politiques* of France, now teaching in the Netherlands the polity of union or suggesting to Dutchmen that new theology we call Arminian, now begetting everywhere those younger pleas for tolerance which since have made unbroken sequence; and that the present reviewer could by mere alertness happen on three copies of the Latin original, on the contemporary German version, on the Strassburg reprint of 1610, suggests that even now the work is less rare than book-hunters have supposed. That precisely its French issue has so nearly vanished is doubtless due to Calvinist hate and horror more than to the later Catholic censorship which made so scarce in France the writings of all heretics, and there is something like poetic justice in its reappearance now at the hands of two Genevan pastors.

Professor Choisy had already, in his able books on the theocracy of Calvin and of Beza, dealt well and frankly with Castellion and his work; and the terse introduction which he prefixes to this tidy volume is a scholar's work. One could wish he had told us just what the little book is—a treasury of argument and of precedent for those who still protest against persecution; that he had mentioned that earlier *Geschichtsbibel* of Sebastian Franck, from whose quotations on this theme it drew its plan and much of its material; that he had revealed to us how under the false name of "Augustinus Eleuthère" that writer's own pen is drawn on largely by the booklet, and how beneath the pseudonym of "Georges Kleinberg", the author of its fieriest chapter, there lurks perhaps that yet more dreadful heretic, David Joris, and how in half the edition (doubtless for non-Lutheran consumption) the names of Luther and Brenz are hidden under pseudonyms as strange, aye and how, alas, many of the great ones, whose pleas for tolerance are here quoted, repudiated in their day of strength the cause they could plead for in their hour of weakness. One could wish less positive, too, the statement that the book was a reply to Calvin's in defense of his course toward Servetus; for, though it appeared a few days later, it could hardly have been compiled and printed in the interval, and Castellion's reply to Calvin's book was his later (alas, so long unprinted) dialogue *Contra libellum Calvini*. Nor is it quite exact to ascribe the book to a "collaboration of Italian and French refugees" without pointing out that one of the three forthwith named (Cellarius) was a German, and that the only Frenchman (Castellion himself), though French by speech and training, was Savoyard by birth. But all these and much more may be learned from that masterly biography of Castellion by Buisson which is already at the elbow of all students of the sixteenth century; and the vigor, the vividness, the sincere attempt at fairness, make the introduction worthy of a booklet which must remain a classic in the history of liberty.

GEORGE L. BURR.

*English Merchants and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries.* Extracts from the archives in possession of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Bute. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by L. de Alberti and A. B. Wallis Chapman, D.Sc. [Camden Series, vol. XXIII.] (London, the Society, 1912, pp. xviii, 174.) Ten years ago much light was shed on the operations of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands by the publication of Dr. de Gray Birch's able calendar of a collection of original manuscripts formerly belonging to the Holy Office, and now in the possession of the Marquess of Bute. Misses L. de Alberti and A. B. Wallis Chapman have now supplemented this work by giving us the original Spanish text and excellent English translations of half a dozen typical cases of Englishmen who fell into the clutches of the tribunal during the decade 1586-1596, when its most important work was dealing with foreign heretics. The majority of these Englishmen were "sailors and merchants who were concerned in trade (agreeably mixed with piracy) with Spain or its dependencies", and who put in at the Canaries, either for commerce or supplies, on their way to the remoter Spanish possessions in the New World. Most of them, therefore, came first into conflict with the civil authorities; but the Spanish conscience was "extravagantly sensitive to heresy", and a special denunciation (by no means difficult to procure) often transferred the culprit from the public gaol to the Inquisition prison. The evidence seems conclusively to prove that the treatment accorded to inmates of the secret cells of the Holy Office, was, generally speaking, considerably more humane than that in the prisons of other jurisdictions, and vastly less horrible than the stories of the victims who returned to England would indicate. The use of torture was rare and confined to a few well-known methods. The records show that only one Englishman was burnt in person in a public *auto* by the Canary Inquisition, four burnt in effigy as apostates, and twenty-four reconciled and penanced. Of course a larger number than this were at different times imprisoned in the secret cells.

The documents here printed are also interesting from a commercial point of view; they "afford one more instance of the difficulty governments have in repressing trade, when the general interest of the traders is against them". After war was declared between Spain and England, the Inquisition strove in every possible way to prevent commercial intercourse between the two countries. But there is conclusive evidence to show that despite these efforts, trade relations continued active during the decade following the Armada; the very number of English prisoners who found their way into the secret cells at that time goes to prove it. Indeed it may be justly said that the peace of 1604 legalized rather than re-established Anglo-Spanish commerce.

The editors of this little volume have done their work well, and their introduction is able, clear, and convincing. But the American reader will probably be amazed to discover a complete absence of any evidence that Misses Alberti and Chapman are aware that Dr. Lea ever wrote



anything about their subject. The foot-notes indicate that they have discovered his larger work, the *History of the Inquisition of Spain*, but his subsequent volume on the *Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, which contains fifty-two admirable pages on the Inquisition in the Canaries, has apparently escaped their notice. At any rate they have not seen fit to refer to it. This is unfortunate, as they diverge from Dr. Lea in a number of minor points (e. g. the date of the establishment of the tribunal in the Canaries) and should certainly show cause for so doing. In these days the necessity of "going to the sources" of historical information is universally admitted, but the expediency of consulting secondary works of fundamental importance, by distinguished authors, remains as obvious as ever.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

*The English Factories in India, 1642-1645.* A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, Westminster. By William Foster, C.I.E. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913, pp. xxxvii, 339.) This is the seventh volume of this series. Notices in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW of earlier calendars have aimed to emphasize the value of such documentary material for many of the varied aspects of British economic and imperial history in the seventeenth century. This volume contains a map illustrating the Malabar and Coromandel coasts at this period, which supplements a similar map of northern India published in volume I.; likewise a chronological list (1615-1629) of ships sent from Surat to England, together with an estimate of the value of their respective cargoes (III. xxxiv), is here continued for the years 1630-1645 (p. xix). The editorial technique shown in the present volume is as usual of a high order and the introduction is again a mosaic model.

But the documents apparently do not afford any clue to some hidden topic in the history of an American colony. This is by way of contrast to several of the earlier volumes. Nor do these India Office papers, written during a period critical in English history, supply to any extent a fresh view toward domestic affairs. An exception to this is perhaps in the documents relating to the voyage which ended in the well-known surrender at Bristol to Royalist forces of a homeward bound ship of the company's fleet. Unfortunately for Charles I. a cargo of coral and other East Indian products did not find prompt purchasers at the height of the Civil War. But among many other matters these documents are valuable for Anglo-Dutch relations and for English trade in Asiatic waters.

The subject of European trade in India and between Oriental ports was recently suggested as a field for investigation. The material abundantly supplied in this collection gives an even more substantial basis for such a study. Thus we find records of the relations of English factors to Indian financiers, of the pioneer voyage in Anglo-Indian trade with Manila, and of commerce between India and ports in Arabia and along the Persian Gulf. This trade in any case is a continuation on the

part of Europeans by routes and methods of a trade which was possibly initiated by the Chinese and which certainly was maintained by the Arabs during the early medieval period. In particular the complicated question of coinage invites further investigation of financial relations with Europe. Thus the depreciation after 1642 of the *tango* (according to Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* from the Sanskrit, *tanki*) and the uncertain value of the *chicken* (alias sequin or Venetian ducat) are frequent topics. Is it possible that by this time the Oriental money-markets had been influenced by the exploitation of American mines?

Throughout these vicissitudes of English economic adventure the rivalry of the Dutch forms an additional explanation of the European diplomatic situation. The central fact is the treaty of peace in 1641 between the Dutch and the Portuguese; the net result was not favorable to English interests. Such matters give a sometimes dim light on the economic genesis of a European diplomatic problem which was soon to flame into wars. The result was a new name for New Amsterdam.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

*Papers relating to the Loss of Minorca in 1756.* Edited by Captain H. W. Richmond, R.N. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. XLII.] (London, the Society, 1913, pp. xli, 224.) The trial of Admiral Byng was followed by a Parliamentary inquiry to determine whether the administration was not itself partly responsible for the loss of Minorca: it was charged in particular that a larger squadron should have been sent out, and that it should have been sent out at an earlier date. To meet these charges, the government prepared an elaborate defense. The papers which make the substance of the government's defense are now printed under the editorship of Captain Richmond, who contributes an introduction of forty pages. The papers consist of a brief outline of events from March 11 to June 16, 1756, and of papers conveying information to the Admiralty office from the Mediterranean, the Channel, and the Atlantic stations between January, 1755, and April, 1756, together with official comments designed to prove that the government sent as large a fleet, and sent it at as early a date, as possible. Captain Richmond's introduction is devoted to these two questions; and, on the basis of the very papers which the government used in its own defense, he finds clear evidence that "not only could ships have been sent earlier without the least danger to the United Kingdom, but a stronger force could have been sent". He adds that "Byng was made the scapegoat to cover the sins of omission of the Administration, whose blunders he had failed to retrieve." Yet he does not absolve Byng from all responsibility. The admiral was temperamentally unfitted for the position in which he found himself—too apt to assume that the "garrison could not be reinforced, without trying whether it were possible to throw in troops".

CARL BECKER.

*L'Oeuvre Législative de la Révolution.* Par L. Cahen et R. Guyot, Docteurs ès Lettres, Agrégés d'Histoire. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine.] (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1913, pp. iii, 486.) This is a collection of documents, a selection from the decrees of the successive French legislative assemblies from 1789 through the period of the Directory, taken from the *Bulletin des Lois* and the *Procès-Verbaux*. A second volume dealing with the legislation of the empire is announced as in press. These two cheap and convenient volumes will be a great aid to those anxious to see the actual text of the most important acts of the revolutionary bodies. The documents are conveniently classified under four main headings: I. Political and Constitutional; II. Decrees relating to the general administration, the judiciary, and the finances; III. Military and Diplomatie, giving the chief treaties; IV. Lastly, the economic and social work of the revolutionary period, including the decrees affecting persons and property, the clergy, education, charities, and industry and commerce. Only the more essential passages in the laws are reproduced in full but there is a mention or résumé of such less important provisions as may be of interest. There are practically no notes, but here and there a word of necessary explanation.

*Three-Quarters of a Century (1807-1882): a Retrospect.* Written from Documents and Memory (1877-1882) by the late Rev. Augustus J. Thébaud, S. J., edited by Charles G. Herbermann, LL.D. Volume II. *Italy.* [United States Catholic Historical Monograph Series, VI.] (New York, the United States Catholic Historical Society, 1913, pp. 204.) With this volume Father Thébaud brings to an end his reminiscences covering his early education in France and his later studies in Rome. Volume I. dealt with "political, social and ecclesiastical events in France" during the closing years of the empire, and the restoration and reign of Louis Philippe. The present volume relates the author's experiences in Italy whither he had gone in 1835 to pursue his studies after he had determined to join the Society of Jesus. As most of these recollections cover the secluded life of a Jesuit scholastic, naturally they contain very little of value to the historian. His relations with Cardinal Fesch, half-brother of Letitia Ramolino, mother of Napoleon, touch the personal side of this the only historic character met with in the narrative, but when he attempts to give the cardinal a setting in history the editor feels obliged to state in a foot-note that later researches have shown Father Thébaud's account of Fesch's connection with Josephine's marriage and the questions arising therefrom to be not quite correct.

The decline of clerical life in France before the Revolution is frankly told; and the contrasting portrayal of religious and monastic life in Italy in the early part of the nineteenth century is convincing. Especially intimate is his description of the Jesuit novitiate.

*Greater Rome and Greater Britain.* By Sir C. P. Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, pp. 184.) This is a profitable book. The author, who edited the last edition of Sir George Cornwall Lewis's classic, *The Government of Dependencies*, wisely departs from the somewhat myopic terminology of the earlier work, and in a chapter on Roman Terms gives a corrective to the usual etymological preface to many books on imperial subjects. Usage and the realities of historical development have directed his definitions. Here, as elsewhere, he has avoided the pitfalls of analogy which the title of the book unfortunately suggested. His use of Roman history is on the whole that of a political administrator in the present world; nevertheless we can recall that he won a "first" in *litterae humaniores* at Oxford. Therefore, when Sir Charles Lucas of the British Colonial Office muses and speaks it is from the reservoir of a full mind, if not one that is always aware of recent progress in ancient history. Though the foreground is sometimes dim the result is a vision of the horizon. Even when one cannot entirely agree with the author there is stimulus to observation and further speculation. Thus in the chapter on "The Natural and the Artificial" the defense of the "artificial" is profitable for more than one reason. The author recognizes the failure of the "home Briton" to assimilate the "overseas Briton", but maintains that the "home Briton is too natural, he does not care for appearances or estimate them at their proper value. If he could really become more artificial, he would seem more natural" (pp. 129-130). To an observer of the conventionality of the western region in another great empire, the United States, the comment is interesting.

Among the distinguishing features of the book are chapters on "Space", "Science and Empire" (including distance, the use of water, and medical research), and "Class, Colour, and Race". Breadth of treatment and departure from trite summaries mark the entire work. Briefly this is a short book from the mind of a man who has thought largely.

A. L. P. D.

*The Flowery Republic.* By Frederick McCormick. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1913, pp. xvi, 447.) The tone and temper of Mr. McCormick's account of the revolution in China justify a considerable degree of confidence in his ability to disclose a complicated situation without intruding his preconceived opinions. He has lived long enough in the country to learn the language and make the acquaintance of many of its representative men, while his business as a correspondent has trained him to gather and impart information. The product of these qualifications appears in a volume which makes no claim to be regarded as a history but presents the testimony of a witness that may be valuable in the future as historical material. On a journey through Manchuria in November, 1911, the author had an opportunity to

observe in the flight of the Manchu Resident from Urga a demonstration of one outcome of the revolution which has been quite ignored in the West. With the passing of the Manchus from the throne Mongolia inevitably passes from Chinese control. The Mongols, whose attitude toward China somewhat resembles that of Hungarians toward Austria, have never acknowledged the right of the Chinese to rule them except under Tartar emperors; the removal of the Ta Ching dynasty, therefore, ends their allegiance to a government which they fear and dislike. As a result of this attitude and of her own political impotence Mongolia is for the moment a derelict at the mercy of Russia and Japan, while China's need of this great region for her surplus population will render it necessary for her to substantiate whatever historic claims she may advance when she is strong enough to do so. In ridding themselves of an autocratic form of government the Chinese are likely to lose all their outlying dependencies.

The course of the revolution in Szechuan and about Hankow is described by Mr. McCormick mainly through the reports of others, though several of the documents translated are new and of importance. General Li Yuan-hung's correspondence with Admiral Sah shows him to have been a man of moderation at the outset, as he has proved himself to be in his present responsible office. To Sah's objection that he did not believe China fitted for republican rule he replied that in the opinion of those about him plans for a constitutional monarchy would probably be adopted. The republican programme was apparently forced through in the end by the southern revolutionists. The author's own visits to Shanghai and Canton seem to have impressed him with the evident unfitness of either of these two revolutionary centres to control the country, the two Kwang provinces especially being as manifestly prompted by lawlessness to-day as they were in the long turmoil following the Manchu conquest in the seventeenth century. Sun Yat-sen convinced him, as he has convinced others, by his singular charm as a sincere if emotional patriot, but we do not discover in him any of the qualities of a statesman. Yuan Shih-kai, though lacking the charm of the southerner, appears to Mr. McCormick to be the only man capable of keeping China together. Authority under the break-up of the old institutions seems to be flaccid, and the chief need for the moment is of someone with the dominant qualities of leadership. A sensible chapter on the discredited Manchus shows that the coming of the dynasty rescued China from anarchy and furnished at least two centuries of as good a government as she ever enjoyed under native rulers. The American edition of this book is distinctly mutilated by the omission of several chapters and of the index, which belong to the English edition.

F. W. WILLIAMS.

*The Weathering of Aboriginal Stone Artifacts.* By N. H. Winchell. No. 1. *A Consideration of the Paleoliths of Kansas.* [Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, vol. XVI., part I.] (St. Paul, the Society,

1913, pp. 186.) Because he has opened a new field in archaeology, Professor Winchell deserves the thanks of historians as well as of scientists. Himself a skilled geologist, he has made an exhaustive study of those numerous chert objects found on the surface in northeastern Kansas. Mr. J. V. Brower had preceded Winchell in the region and spent some years collecting artifacts from the Harahey and Quivira sites. Brower thought these Indian settlements (mentioned by Coronado) lay between the "great bend" of the Arkansas River and the Kansas River. For aught I know his observations are correct.

Winchell availed himself of Brower's data and collections and began a study of the stone implements from this region. He observed that there was a curious weathering, or patination, on the surfaces of most of them. A personal investigation in northeastern Kansas convinced him that the objects were found along the borders of the Kansas ice limit, of the glacial epoch. He was soon able to group these stone objects into several classes, chief of which were palaeolithic and early neolithic. We have not space to concern ourselves with the later division. He finds that the large, rudely worked, oval artifacts are comparable in form with the palaeolithic implements of France and England; and that on many of these there is a distinct patination due to age, or chemical action. As further indication of age, he finds that these implements "have been secondarily chipped by a later people, and this later people have left their work strewn up and down the Kansas valley and its tributary valleys. This later people may have done independent quarrying in the cherty limestone."

Professor Winchell feels, and justly so, that American archaeologists have devoted too little time to the question of palaeolithic man in America, and that most of them are prejudiced against the existence of man here either during, or immediately after, the glacial epoch.

His book of 186 pages evinces most careful research and geologic skill. It does not seem to the writer that any person can controvert his observations. His analysis of the surfaces of the specimens, and his researches along the terminal moraines of Kansas, indicate the presence of a very early man—of a different culture from that exhibited by the later Indians. We should have more and similar works along the same line elsewhere in the United States.

WARREN K. MOOREHEAD.

*Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society.* Number 21. *The Lyons Collection.* Volume I. (New York, the Society, 1913, pp. xxi, 304.) The Reverend Jacques Judah Lyons was born in Surinam of Philadelphia parents in 1813. Removing to America in 1837, he was for thirty-eight years a minister of the Congregation Shearith Israel (Remnant of Israel) in New York city. That congregation, established as early as 1656, and composed from the beginning of Spanish and Portuguese elements, has always maintained the Sephardic or Western ritual;



indeed its earlier records, now lost, were kept in Portuguese. For many years before his death in 1877, and long before the foundation of the American Jewish Historical Society, Mr. Lyons occupied himself with researches into the history of his congregation and of Judaism in America. His collections have recently come into the possession of the society and the present volume begins the utilization of his work in print. The first and largest element in the volume consists of the full texts of the earliest extant minute books of the Congregation Shearith Israel, 1728 to 1786, abounding in interesting material respecting the income, the expenditures, and the official organization of the congregation, its worship, its buildings, its various activities, its charities, the relations existing between the members, and between the congregation and its Gentile neighbors. Next the volume contains an historical sketch of the same congregation by a still earlier antiquarian, Naphtali Phillips (1773-1870), interesting, and incorporating valuable documents. Then follows a reprint of Mordecai M. Noah's address delivered in 1825 at the laying of the cornerstone of the City of Ararat, a Zionist undertaking, intended to be located on Grand Island in the Niagara River. The volume concludes with a glossary and an index.

*The Framing of the Constitution of the United States.* By Max Farrand, Professor of History, Yale University. (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1913, pp. ix, 281.) Professor Farrand's volume is primarily an account, in brief scope, of the work done in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and to this extent it is excellent. Three preliminary chapters deal with the calling of the federal Convention, the Convention and its members, and the defects of the Confederation, but aside from these chapters the discussion takes into account almost nothing of developments previous to and subsequent to the Convention. The chapter on the Convention and its members, which is devoted to the reproduction of William Pierce's humorous characterizations of delegates, is the least satisfactory of the book, but this chapter is supplemented in a brief though effective manner by the final chapter of the volume. One statement of Professor Farrand's regarding the members of the Convention is worth quoting:

Great men there were, it is true, but the convention as a whole was composed of men such as would be appointed to a similar gathering at the present time: professional men, business men, and gentlemen of leisure; patriotic statesmen and clever, scheming politicians; some trained by experience and study for the task before them, and others utterly unfit. It was essentially a representative body, taking possibly a somewhat higher tone from the social conditions of the time, the seriousness of the crisis, and the character of the leaders (p. 40).

Professor Farrand says that "every provision of the federal constitution can be accounted for in American experience between 1776 and 1787" (p. 204), but he does not indicate sufficiently what that experience was, except in so far as he discusses the defects of the Confederation.

The weaknesses of the Confederation deserve full consideration as a basis for discussing the work of the Convention, but equally so do the constitutional experiences of the states from 1776 to 1787 and the political theories which influenced state constitutional developments during this period. There are occasional references to the influence of state constitutions, but the author furnishes no adequate basis for determining the extent of such influence. In connection with the election of the president, for example, it would have been well to call attention to the frequency of proposals for indirect elections in the states between 1776 and 1784. Professor Farrand's work is too much a mere report, and an excellent one, it must be said, of what was done in the Convention, without sufficient account of the political situation, and of the spirit in which the work was done. Perhaps it may be unfair to criticize the author for not doing more than he purports to do, but it may be worth while to express a hope that we may have later a more comprehensive discussion from Professor Farrand of the Convention and its work.

Some of Professor Farrand's distinctly new points of view with respect to the work of the Convention have been made available before this book appeared, but it is worth while to call attention to the author's opinion that the Articles of Confederation were much more important as a basis for the new Constitution than has ordinarily been supposed (pp. 128, 202). The author's expressions with respect to judicial power over legislation are perhaps too broad (pp. 157, 209).

W. F. DODD.

*James S. Wadsworth of Geneseo, Brevet Major-General of United States Volunteers.* By Henry Greenleaf Pearson. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913, pp. vi, 321, 19 illustrations, 5 maps.) The lapse of a half-century has naturally awakened a new interest in the history of our Civil War and in the lives of those who bore the leading parts. The number of trained officers was too small to command an army of hundreds of thousands of volunteer troops; and their places in many instances had to be filled by new appointments from civil life. Many left their daily vocations, in which they had learned to control large numbers of men; and their broad experience compensated to some extent for lack of training. General Wadsworth was a noble example of such a soldier. His story, well and graphically told by Mr. Pearson, recalls the thrilling though pleasant memories of those who knew him, and offers to younger men a fine example of patriotism.

James S. Wadsworth was born in Geneseo, in western New York, in 1807. His father was a large land owner, wealthy, and devoted to agriculture. Wadsworth spent two years at Harvard College and a year at Yale Law School, and was admitted to the bar in 1833. He took an active part in politics, first as an antislavery Democrat and then as a Republican.

Too old to enlist in the ranks, Wadsworth applied for a position as an

aide on McDowell's staff. For his services in the first battle of Bull Run, he was promoted to brigadier-general of volunteers and assigned to command of a brigade with his headquarters at Arlington. He was then appointed military governor of Washington.

In 1862 he was nominated for governor of New York, but was defeated by Seymour. In December he was assigned to the command of the first division of the First Army Corps under Reynolds. In the battle of Chancellorsville through Hooker's mismanagement his corps was kept out of action, but at Gettysburg, Wadsworth's division was the first to be engaged; and as Reynolds was soon killed, he was left with a fearful responsibility, which he discharged with great credit.

In the Wilderness, as at Gettysburg, Wadsworth's division took part in the first engagement; but his men were lost in the thicket, outflanked, and driven back. At this he was so mortified that he asked to be sent into action again when the fight was to be renewed in another part of the field. There he arrived with his division at dusk; and on the following day, mounted and at the head of his troops, led charge after charge until he received a fatal wound. Pearson says:

The shock of loss woke the nation to the wealth of service that had been devoted to it by one man. . . . Grant, Meade, Humphreys, and Hancock testified in no equivocal terms to the example and inspiration of his leadership . . . Lying dormant within the soul of a man whose life showed to the world as that of an earnest and friendly country gentleman, and whose years, if nothing else, might be deemed sufficient to exempt him from service in the field, dwelt forces that at the call of national danger were to make of him a soldier and a hero.

Though thoroughly alive to the merits of his hero, Pearson does not try to overpraise him. His accounts of the parts of battles in which Wadsworth was engaged show a talent for divining the successive positions of the opposing troops from the fragmentary and conflicting reports, which is rare for any one but a military expert. His experience in teaching English studies has given to his style a literary finish which makes his story very attractive and interesting.

It is a valuable contribution to the civil and military history of the war.

*The Life of Lyman Trumbull.* By Horace White. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913, pp. xxxv, 458.) This work has three distinct aspects. As a life of Trumbull it is disappointing. A man who was successively a Democrat, an Anti-Kansas-Nebraska Democrat, a Republican, a Conservative Republican, a Liberal Republican, a Democrat, a patron of W. J. Bryan, and drafter of a Populist platform, would seem to have the right to demand an interesting biography. Yet, perhaps, it is indicative of the stability of American political life that a man well born, well educated, well-to-do, and essentially conservative, could go through such successive stages without being interesting. Trumbull appears in every crisis high minded and keen, with the juristic bent, so

common in American statesmen, developed to an unusual degree. He shows no particular foresight or qualities of leadership. His work in freeing the slaves by confiscation acts and the thirteenth amendment is brought out, and his importance in the first session of the Thirty-Eighth Congress, but the inner workings of his mind at important crises are seldom revealed. This is, of course, largely because of the lack of material, no diary and few letters remaining. It does seem, however, that the biographer fails to make the book sufficiently personal; for whole chapters Trumbull almost disappears.

From the second point of view, the book is a study of separation and reunion by one who was an eminent journalist throughout the period. Mr. White was a Republican, and later a Liberal Republican, but now states, in his preface, that: "I had been wrong from the beginning, and that Andrew Johnson's policy, which was Lincoln's policy, was the true one." From this point of view, the book belongs to that class of work, so common among men of Mr. White's generation, of reminiscence reinforced by study. In that class it takes high rank. The studies of corruption under Cameron and Grant are particularly valuable.

The third aspect of the book is as a storehouse of new material. For this it will be chiefly used by the student, and I believe that it will be chiefly the student who will use it. This material consists, for the most part, in addition to Mr. White's reminiscences, of letters to Trumbull. From a mass at his disposal, Mr. White has selected the most significant, and at certain critical points, as when Douglas opposed the Lecompton Constitution (pp. 73-75) and coquetted with the Republicans (pp. 87-94), when Lincoln was nominated (pp. 107-108), and during the critical period between the election and inauguration of Lincoln (pp. 117-119), he has summarized the contents of a large number. The contribution to the study of public opinion is decided. By all odds, the most important contribution, however, consists of the letters from Lincoln. Three in particular are of first-class importance for the reading of Lincoln's character and methods (pp. 105, 108, and 112). On the other hand, Trumbull's study of Lincoln's character (pp. 426-430) is of little importance. The relations between the two men, while confidential, and on Lincoln's part even confiding, seem to have been so only because of their necessary political affiliation. Trumbull seems to have regarded Lincoln throughout with a certain condescension (pp. 171, 218, 426-430).

The volume is well gotten out, and has an excellent index.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida.* By William Watson Davis. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LIII., no. 131.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1913, pp. xxvi, 769.) This is a voluminous record of the war and its aftermath as localized in the state of Florida; a record rather than a narrative, although the book is full of minor narratives of absorbing

interest. National politics and events are brought into view only in so far as they are necessary to the comprehension of affairs in Florida. In reading the book one must keep in mind that what he is observing is only a small corner of a larger picture. The author's attitude is usually that of a dispassionate looker-on, although now and then he expresses clear-cut conclusions, for instance, in his defense of Buchanan. The size of the book will cause many to halt near the threshold (though not, it is assumed, before they have read the introductory chapter, on the evolution of a slave-holding commonwealth) or to skim (provided some friendly hand has cut the pages), but the student of the reconstruction period will value it.

*A History of Rockingham County, Virginia.* By John W. Wayland, Ph.D., Professor of History, State Normal School, Harrisonburg, Va. (Dayton, Va., Ruebush-Elkins Company, 1912, pp. 473.) This book is introduced as the "first serious attempt ever made to write and publish a comprehensive illustrated history of Rockingham County, Virginia". In his "labor of love" the author has succeeded admirably in collecting a wealth of information concerning this part of the famous Shenandoah Valley. Virginians in general and "Rockinghamers" in particular will be grateful for this important contribution to the history of their commonwealth. But the volume may as well be called a source-book as a history.

In Part I., "Chronological", much space is given to extracts from court records, lists of names, etc., which form excellent material for reference. Some of these chapters are annalistic enough to remind us of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Part II., "Topical", consists of eighteen chapters on various subjects, and is more readable. Throughout the book occur articles by various contributors with too little regard for proportion or perspective.

Keeping in mind the limitations of space which made the task "one of selection rather than of collection" (p. viii), we feel sure that the author would have gained by rewriting most of these articles. In the space saved he might have given more of the "embarrassment of riches that has confronted" him. Did he not omit items of greater importance than, e. g., these? "In March, 1876, a large black eagle was committing various depredations between Harrisonburg and Dayton" (p. 415). "Wednesday afternoon, September 20, 1911, I visited Harrison's Cave" (p. 400). In 1891, a firm "were said to have shipped to Washington 1643 rabbits, from November to January, inclusive" (p. 417). "On May 6, 1911, Mr. Joe K. Ruebush pointed out to me the site formerly occupied by this chapel" (p. 254). "This is history, not a fairy tale" (p. 436).

After the implied accuracy in several instances where the author announces that the document is "before me" (pp. 64, 247, 289), one is surprised at the daring (though unimportant) claims as to Rockingham County's pre-eminence in the number of persons "who can sing, and

who love music" (pp. 183, 339); and at the assertion "Dayton is probably the largest town south of Mason and Dixon's line without a single colored citizen" (p. 198).

The volume is well supplied with maps and illustrations. State histories could be improved wonderfully if we had books like this one for each county.

HERMAN J. THORSTENBERG.

*The Panama Gateway.* By Joseph Bucklin Bishop. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913, pp. xvi, 459.) It has been understood for some time that a history of the Panama Canal was being prepared by the Secretary of the Isthmian Canal Commission. The appearance of the volume was preceded by a series of papers published during the first half of 1913 in *Scribner's Magazine*. The volume, however, is much more comprehensive than were the papers that appeared in successive magazine issues.

Mr. Bishop's work is an authoritative account by one who has intimate first-hand knowledge of what has transpired on the Isthmus of Panama during the past nine years. The author is accurate as to facts, and is fair in his estimate of the men who brought about the construction of the canal and who have executed the work.

The volume is comprehensive in scope. The first part, occupying fifty-nine pages, gives an historical account of the Isthmian Canal idea and of isthmian transit prior to 1879, when the French Canal Company secured its first concession from the Colombian government. Part II. gives the story of French effort and failure from 1879 to 1902. Part III. tells how the Panama Canal route came to be adopted by the United States government, and how control over that route, as the result of the Panama revolution, was secured by the United States government. One-half of the volume is contained in part IV., which contains an account of the construction of the canal, beginning with 1904. Part V. is a description of the completed canal.

The subject is treated in a popular rather than in a detailed manner. It will not fully satisfy those engineers and economists who wish seriously to study the history of the Panama Canal, but the volume will be greatly appreciated by the many thousand readers who desire a reliable, general account of how the Panama Canal has been constructed.

The account of the French effort and failure is the least satisfactory part of the work. One cannot help feeling that the author was unduly impressed with the dramatic aspects of the French activities on the isthmus. The author's imaginative faculty and his exceptional narrative powers cause him to present a most graphic picture of the French efforts to build the Panama Canal, but whether the picture is one in which the historical perspective is accurate may well be doubted.

EMORY R. JOHNSON.



*República de Colombia, Administración Restrepo: Archivos Nacionales —Índice Analítico, Metódico y Descriptivo.* Por F. J. Vergara y Velasco. Primera Serie, *La Colonia, 1544-1819*; Tomo I., *Gobierno en General*; Primer Volúmen. (Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional, 1913. pp. xii, 467.)

The archives of Bogotá, says the Colombian minister of instruction in his preface, are ampler and more complete than those of any other South American government. They embrace some ten thousand bound volumes, of which not less than 3435 relate to the colonial period, and are kept partly in the Biblioteca Nacional, partly in an apartment of the Ministerio de Gobierno. General Don Francisco Javier Vergara y Velasco, formerly a member of the House of Representatives, and a devoted student of Colombian history, has for several years been occupied with the preparation of a calendar of this great mass of material. The papers of the period before independence, which he takes up first, are to be presented in eight subdivisions (tomos): political, fiscal, ecclesiastical, those relating to Indians and negroes, demographic and social, military and naval, judicial, and miscellaneous. The present volume describes and calendars the contents of nearly two hundred volumes in the first of these subdivisions, chiefly belonging to the sections Reales Cédulas y Ordenes, Bulas y Breves, Gobierno Civil, Real Audiencia, and Virreyes. The calendaring will follow the existing order of the papers, though this has been much disarranged by the vicissitudes of four centuries; but alphabetical indexes and similar helps are to follow if the series is continued to its completion. It is much to be hoped that it may be thus continued, for this first volume, apparently very well done, reveals a great wealth of valuable material for the history of Colombia and a not inconsiderable amount for Panama.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The managing editor will be glad to correspond with persons who have copies, of which they wish to dispose, of nos. 1, 2, and 3 of volume X. of this journal, and nos. 1 and 3 of volume XVI.

Members are reminded that both the secretary of the Association, Mr. Waldo G. Leland, and the treasurer, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, are now to be addressed, respecting all matters of its business, at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The annual meeting of the Association takes place as this journal is being issued—at Charleston on December 29 and 30, at Columbia on December 31, 1913. The usual full account of the proceedings will appear in our next number.

Volume I. of the Association's *Annual Report* for 1911 has been distributed, and is noticed elsewhere (p. 386, above). Volume II., correspondence of Toombs, A. H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb, will be sent out soon. It is hoped that the *Report* for 1912, one volume, may be nearly finished at the Government Printing Office before the close of the present fiscal year. Mr. Cole's prize essay, *The Whig Party in the South*, may be expected by the end of the winter, and the reprint of Mr. Muzzey's *The Spiritual Franciscans* soon after. Mr. Matteson's general index to the whole series of the *Annual Reports* and *Papers* is expected to be completed, in manuscript, within the year 1914.

The Public Archives Commission contributes to the *Annual Report* for 1913 a report on the archives of California (some 140 pages of print) prepared by the late Mr. Haven W. Edwards and Mr. Thomas M. Marshall, and the Reports and Representations made to the Board of Trade, edited by Professor Charles M. Andrews. The Committee on Bibliography has secured the services of Dr. Bernard C. Steiner as editor of the *Bibliography of American Travels*. The *Bibliography of Modern English History* will be published in three volumes, by Murray in London and by Longmans in America. The subscription for the set will be twelve dollars. The manuscript of the first, or general volume will be ready in a few months, that of the second, for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, shortly thereafter.

The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize has been awarded for 1913 to Miss Violet Barbour of Indianapolis, for an essay on Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington.

The sum of two hundred dollars has been presented to the Association, as a prize to be awarded in 1915, for an essay in military history.

The terms and conditions will be announced later. The Association is to assume no responsibility as to publication.

In the *Original Narratives* series, Messrs. Scribner have issued the fifteenth volume, *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1676-1699*, edited by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln. Professor Burr's volume of the witchcraft cases will appear in the spring. The seventeenth will be *Narratives of the Insurrections, 1676-1691*, edited by Professor Charles M. Andrews. It will embrace the three chief narratives of Bacon's Rebellion, those by Matthews ("T. M."), the Commissioners, and (?) Burwell; for North Carolina, the statements of Miller, Colleton, and the Lords Proprietors; for New England and Andros, Byfield's account, Prince's letter, the anonymous account at Fulham, the letter of Captain George (hitherto unprinted), Andros's account of his government, *New England's Faction Discovered, Narrative of the Proceedings*, etc., and Increase Mather's *Brief Account*; for Maryland, the *Declaration of H. M. Protestant Subjects*; for New York and Leisler, *A Modest and Impartial Narrative, A Letter from a Gentleman in the City of New York*, and *Loyalty Vindicated*. This volume is to be issued in the autumn of 1914.

The October number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* contains a valuable article by Professor A. B. Show of Leland Stanford University on the New Culture-History in Germany. It is principally a discussion of Lamprecht's work and method. Other articles are: Reorganization of the High School Courses, by C. A. Sprague, and the Unity of Greek History, by Professor F. M. Fling. In the November number Professor C. H. Hayes of Columbia University discusses the Propriety and Value of the Study of Recent History, and Professor W. L. Westermann of the University of Wisconsin writes concerning the sources of Greek history. Greek history is also represented in the December number, by an article on attempts toward political unity in Greece, by Professor R. F. Scholz. The other historical article in this issue is an address on the New Church History, by Professor Henry C. Vedder.

It may be appropriate to draw attention once more, in this place, to the relation of the *History Teacher's Magazine* to the American Historical Association. Like this journal, it receives a subsidy from the Association; it is edited under the supervision of a committee chosen by the Executive Council of that body, and is to be regarded as one of its constituted organs. Its relations to the REVIEW, the extent to which their territories overlap or are distinct, may perhaps be sufficiently indicated if one says that it aims to serve the interests of all American historical teachers, this journal the interests of all American historical scholars.

#### PERSONAL

Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, the friend of all American historians and historical scholars, died suddenly and prematurely at Madison on October

22. Born of English parentage in what is now a part of Boston, May 15, 1853, he was educated in the grammar and high schools of Dorchester, became a printer, was editor of the *Wisconsin State Journal* for ten years, 1876-1886, and then became secretary and superintendent of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. In that office he performed services of inestimable value to the state, building up the society's acquisitions, upon the basis of the Draper Collection, until they became, in books and manuscripts, the chief of collections for Western American history, splendidly housed and administered with the utmost liberality and breadth of view. Not less notable were his services as writer and as editor. His historical books, chiefly on Western history, have won him high regard, while as editor no American has equalled him in amount of valuable production. Nineteen volumes of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 73 volumes of the *Jesuit Relations*, 33 volumes of *Early Western Travels*, a splendid edition of the *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, and various other scholarly volumes, constitute his monument. His energy, his learning, his organizing ability, his sagacity, his diplomatic tact, made him, in the judgment of all, the model of what a secretary of an historical society should be; his kindness, his generosity, his cheerful good humor, his treasures of narrative and conversation, made him the best of companions and endeared him to numberless friends.

William Garrott Brown, an historical writer of unusual gifts, author of *A History of Alabama*, *Andrew Jackson*, *Stephen Arnold Douglas*, *The Lower South in American History*, a *Life of Oliver Ellsworth*, and other works, died on October 19 at the age of forty-five.

Professor Adhémar Esmein, of the School of Law, Paris, member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, died on July 22, aged sixty-five years. Since the publication in 1881 of his *Histoire de la Procédure Criminelle en France depuis le XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, he has been prolific in his contributions to the history of law, especially in France. His miscellaneous historical works include one on Gouverneur Morris (1906).

M. Richard Pendrell Waddington, senator from the Seine-Inférieure, died at his home near Rouen on June 26, aged seventy-five years. He was the author of *Louis XV. et le Renversement des Alliances, 1754-1756* (1896) and *Histoire Diplomatique et Militaire de la Guerre de Sept Ans* (4 vols., 1899-1907). The rich documentation, especially from the British Museum and the Public Record Office, made these volumes illuminating contributions to the diplomatic history of the eighteenth century, and it is gratifying to know that he practically completed two additional volumes of the work, which will be published shortly by his family.

The completion of Professor John B. McMaster's *History of the People of the United States* by the issue of the eighth volume was celebrated at Philadelphia on November 23 by a notable dinner in his honor, attended by numerous historical writers assembled from a wide area.

The pupils and friends of Professor Charles Bémont, director of historical studies in the École des Hautes Études, and an editor of the *Revue Historique*, presented to him on June 21, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the beginning of his teaching, a volume of *Mélanges*, composed of 48 articles relating mainly to the history of England and of the former English provinces in France.

Professor Edward A. Smith has been called from Princeton University to Allegheny College.

### GENERAL

General reviews: O. Scheel, *Kirchengeschichte* (Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie, LV. 1, 2, 3); E. Montet, *Histoire de l'Islam* (Revue Historique, September).

The thirteenth Congress of German Historians met in Vienna on September 17-19. The most notable papers presented were by Professor A. Cartellieri of Jena, on Die Schlacht von Bouvines im Rahmen der Europäischen Politik; by Professor J. Hansen of Cologne, on Friedrich Wilhelm IV. von Preussen und das Liberale Märzministerium, 1848; by Dr. H. Friedjung of Vienna, on Imperialismus in England; by Dr. Jean Lulvès of Hannover, on Die Machtbestrebungen des Kardinal-Kollegiums gegenüber dem Papsttum; and by Professor H. Uebersberger of Vienna, on Die Theorien der Russischen Slavophilen im Zeitalter Nikolaus I. und Alexanders II. The next meeting will take place in Cologne at Easter, 1915.

The publishers Colin of Paris have announced a second, revised edition of the *Histoire Générale du IV<sup>e</sup> Siècle à nos Jours* of Lavis and Rambaud. The bibliographies, especially, will be brought up to date. The editors and publishers of this excellent and much used work would render a most valuable service to every user of it by adding a general index.

*Essays in Legal History*, edited by Professor Paul Vinogradoff (Oxford University Press), consists of twenty papers presented in the legal section of the International Congress of Historical Studies held in London last April. The sub-section for naval and military history will also be represented by a volume, to be issued by the Cambridge University Press.

*Lectures on Legal History and Miscellaneous Essays*, the collected works of Dr. James Barr Ames, contains a number of lectures never before published (Harvard University Press).

Mr. Arthur John Hubbard has sought to determine the bases of a permanent civilization and has then studied them as illustrated in the history of Greece, Rome, and China, in *The Fate of Empires: being an Inquiry into the Stability of Civilization* (New York, Longmans, 1913, pp. xx, 220).

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for September and October continues its list of works relating to the history and condition of the Jews in various countries.

There appeared in July, edited by Emil Uhles, the first number of the *Archiv für Fischereigeschichte* (Berlin, Parey). Another new historical review, *Történeti Szemle*, is printed in Magyar, under the editorship of Professor David Angyal and the patronage of the Hungarian Academy.

From the University of Nebraska comes a helpful reference-book entitled *Present Political Questions*, compiled by Professor George Elliott Howard. Dr. Howard analyzes such subjects as proportional representation, direct legislation, the direct primary, equal suffrage, municipal government, and corrupt practices laws, in each case following his analysis with a wide range of references. The last sixty pages comprise a carefully selected bibliography of the subjects considered.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: S. E. Altschul, *Die Logische Struktur des Historischen Materialismus: eine Methodologische Studie* (*Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, XXXVII. 1); G. Hanotaux, *De l'Histoire et des Historiens*, I-III. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, September 15-October 15).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: G. Maspero [reviews of recent Egyptological publications] (*Revue Critique*, August 23, 30, September 6, 13, November 1).

The results of long and extensive researches are embodied in *La Vigne dans l'Antiquité* by Raymond Billiard (Paris, Lardanchet, 1913). An introduction to the volume has been written by Professor P. Viala, the French inspector general of viticulture.

Professor Jéquier of the University of Neuchâtel has recently published *Histoire de la Civilisation Égyptienne*, which follows Egyptian progress from the Stone Age to the time of Alexander the Great.

In two recently published volumes, Dr. Jules Baillet has gathered a wealth of materials from ancient Egypt for the study of the history of ethical ideas: *Introduction à l'Étude des Idées Morales dans l'Égypte Antique* (Paris, Geuthner, 1912, pp. 213, reviewed by G. Maspero, *Revue Critique*, August 23); and *Le Régime Pharaonique dans ses Rapports avec l'Évolution de la Morale en Égypte* (*ibid.*, 1913, reviewed *ibid.*, September 6).

Mr. Leonard W. King has published through Chatto and Windus (London) a *History of Babylonia and Assyria* in three volumes, provided with maps, plans, and illustrations.

Trade relations and the diffusion of religious ideas in prehistoric times are discussed in G. Wilke's *Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Indien*,



*Orient, und Europa* (Würzburg, Kabitzsch, 1913, pp. 276). The author regards the Indo-Germans as the culture-carriers and believes that they came from western Europe.

In a series of octavo volumes of remarkably low price, *Tabulae in Usum Scholarum*, Messrs. Marcus and Weber of Bonn are presenting excellent facsimiles illustrating the palaeography of Greek and Latin by famous examples, the many varieties of papyri and of ancient inscriptions, the handwritings of many humanists and reformers and other men of the sixteenth century, and ancient Egyptian, Greek, and Roman portraits, sculptured and painted.

Dr. F. Preisigke has issued two parts of a *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten* (Strassburg, Trübner, 1913, pp. 1-256); and the first part of a *Berichtigungsliste der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Aegypten* (Strassburg, Trübner, 1913, pp. 100).

E. H. Minns has published an elaborate work with many illustrations on *Scythians and Greeks: a Survey of Ancient History and Archaeology on the North Coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus* (London, Clay, 1913, pp. xl, 720, reviewed by T. Schmidt, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, October 4).

*The Hellenica Oxyrhynchia: its Authorship and Authority*, by E. M. Walker (Oxford, Clarendon Press), proves to be a valuable contribution to the discussion of the authorship of this fragment. Mr. Walker opposes the argument for the authorship of Theopompus, put forward by Professor Eduard Meyer, and makes a strong case for Ephorus.

*Stoics and Sceptics*, by E. R. Bevan, is a recent publication of the Oxford University Press.

William Stearns Davis, professor of ancient history, University of Minnesota, will publish this winter through Allyn and Bacon a short volume entitled *A Day in Old Athens*. The book is intended as supplementary reading matter for high schools and for general readers and will describe in accurate but untechnical language what a stranger might hope to hear and see in ancient Athens.

The Ptolemaic and Roman periods of Egyptian history are increasingly a field of investigation. Among the recent studies on the period are E. Biedermann's *Studien zur Aegyptischen Verwaltungsgeschichte in Ptolemäisch-Römischer Zeit, Der βασιλικὸς Γραμματεὺς* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1913); and Dr. A. Steiner's *Der Fiskus der Ptolemäer, I., Seine Spezialbeamten und sein Öffentlichrechtlicher Charakter* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1913, pp. vi, 66).

*A Companion to Roman History*, by H. Stuart Jones (Clarendon Press), touches lightly on the architecture, art, war, religion, production, distribution, and amusements of Roman days, but gives but little that is useful to the historian.

Several institutional studies by A. Rosenberg are collected in *Der Staat der Alten Italiker: Untersuchungen über die Ursprüngliche Verfassung der Latiner, Osker, und Etrusker* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1913, pp. vii, 142).

The four volumes of the *Loeb Library* containing Appian's *Roman History*, the English translation having been done by Mr. Horace White, with some additional work on the third and fourth volumes by E. Iliff Robson of Christ's College, Cambridge, have recently appeared.

*The Quinquennales: an Historical Study*, by R. V. D. Magoffin, Ph.D. (*Johns Hopkins University Studies*), is an effort to throw light upon an obscure Roman office. The evidences gathered show that the *quinquennales* performed for the colonies and municipalities functions similar to those performed by the censors in Rome.

Recent volumes on the Roman imperial period include E. Täubler's *Imperium Romanum: Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Römischen Reichs* (vol. I., Leipzig, Teubner, 1913, pp. x, 458); the second part of Professor R. Cagnat's *L'Armée Romaine d'Afrique* (Paris, Leroux, 1913, pp. 427-804); J. Mesnage, *Romanisation de l'Afrique* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1913); two volumes of J. Toutain's *Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain* (Paris, Leroux, 1913); and the fifth volume of Professor Otto Seeck's *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt* (Berlin, Siemenroth, 1913).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Guilhiermoz, *De l'Équivalence des Anciennes Mesures, à propos d'une Publication Récente* (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, May); E. Naville, *L'Origine Africaine de la Civilisation Égyptienne* (*Revue Archéologique*, July); U. Kahrstedt, *Zur Kykladenkultur* (*Mitteilungen des K. Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abt.*, XXXVIII. 2); R. von Pöhlmann, *Isokrates und das Problem der Demokratie* (*Sitzungsberichte der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1913, 1); G. Cardinali, *Roma e la Civiltà Ellenistica* (*Scientia*, XIV. 4); F. Blumenthal, *Die Autobiographie des Augustus*, I. (*Wiener Studien*, XXV. 1); L. Thorndike, *A Roman Astrologer as a Historical Source: Julius Firmicus Maternus* (*Classical Philology*, October); C. E. Babut, *Recherches sur la Garde Impériale et sur le Corps d'Officiers de l'Armée Romaine aux IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> Siècles*, I. (*Revue Historique*, November).

#### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General review: R. Massigli, *Quelques Ouvrages Récents sur les Origines du Christianisme* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, April).

Messrs. Longmans have recently published the Rev. George Edmundson's *The Church in Rome in the First Century*, being the Bampton Lectures for 1913.

The *Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza*, by Mark the Deacon, has been translated with an introduction and notes by G. F. Hill (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913, pp. xlv, 152). A *Vie de Porphyre* has also been written by Professor J. Bidez of the University of Ghent (Leipzig, Teubner, 1913).

*Dalla grande Persecuzione alla Vittoria del Cristianesimo*, by Tommaso de Bacci Venuti (Milan, Hoepli, 1913), contains, in an appendix, a discussion of the genuineness of the Edict of Milan.

The sixteenth centenary of the edict of Constantine the Great in favor of Christianity suggested to the friends of Mgr. Dr. A. de Waal to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of his priesthood by a volume of monographs on *Konstantin der Grosse und seine Zeit* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1913). A volume of five excellent studies on *Kaiser Konstantin und die Christliche Kirche* has also been published by Professor Eduard Schwartz of Göttingen (Leipzig, Teubner, 1913, pp. vii, 171). Dr. Erich Seeberg has made a full presentation of the evidence concerning the doubtful *Synode von Antiochien im Jahre 324-325* (Berlin, Trowitsch, 1913, pp. vii, 224, reviewed by E. Mangelot, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, October).

The second volume of S. Schiwietz's *Das Morgenländische Mönchtum* (Mainz, Kirchheim, 1913, pp. viii, 192) deals with the monks of Sinai and Palestine in the fourth century.

As a substantial contribution to the study of the "theory and practice of Basilian monasticism" Mr. E. F. Morison's *St. Basil and his Rule: a Study in Early Monasticism* (Oxford University Press) cannot but be welcomed by all students of the subject.

The Hamburg City Library possesses the oldest known copy of the history of the Alexandrian patriarchs from St. Mark to Michael I. (A. D. 61-767) by Severus ibn al Muqaffa (latter half of tenth century) which is the chief authority for the early history of the Coptic church. This manuscript possesses special value as being older than the one used in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, and has been edited by Professor C. F. Seybold of Tübingen and published by the Hamburg City Library (Hamburg, 1912, pp. ix, 208). B. Evetts is publishing, with translation and notes, the Arabic text of the *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, as volume X. of the *Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1913). The latest fascicle carries the account to 849.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Norden, *Josephus und Tacitus über Jesus Christus und eine Messianische Prophetie* (Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, XXXI. 9); J. Weiss, *Das Problem der Entstehung des Christentums* (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XVI. 3); H. Lietzmann, *Zur Altchristlichen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie, LV. 2); U. Kahrstedt, *Die*

*Märtyrerakten von Lugudunum, 177* (Rheinisches Museum, LXVIII. 3); H. Delehaye, *Vita S. Danielis Stylitae*, and *De Fontibus Vitae S. Danielis Stylitae* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXXII. 2); G. L. Hamilton, *The Sources of the Symbolic Lay Communion* (Romanic Review, April-June); Mgr. Batiffol, *The French School of Early Church History* (The Constructive Quarterly, June).

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

An important contribution to ecclesiastical history is begun by Dom Morin in his *Études, Textes, Découvertes: Contributions à la Littérature et à l'Histoire des Douze Premiers Siècles* (tome I., Paris, Picard, pp. 526), which contains a number of unpublished texts and a bibliographical index to the author's publications in this field.

J. M. Vidal has begun publishing the *Lettres Closes et Patentes de Benoît XII., 1334-1342, intéressant les Pays autres que la France* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1913, pp. 1-296) from the Vatican archives.

Volumes III. and IV. of *Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo*, edited by Dr. Konrad Burdach and Dr. Paul Piur (Weidmann, 1912), form a part of Dr. Burdach's studies into the literary and artistic history of medieval Germany. Volume III. contains the text of existing letters written by Rienzi or addressed to him, and volume IV. a selection of illustrative documents. A volume of introductions and one of notes are to come later.

The International Association of Academies has undertaken the publication of a *Corpus Diplomatum Graecorum*, the preparation of which is under the immediate charge of the Munich Academy, especially of Dr. Paul Marc, the editor of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, and of W. Hengstenberg. As a preliminary to the greater work, the Munich Academy expects to publish soon an album of twenty facsimile plates of charters, dating from 1079 to 1447, which will be an important addition to the materials now available for students of Byzantine diplomatics.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Reverdy, *Les Relations de Childebert II. et de Byzance* (Revue Historique, September); E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Islamischen Gebets und Kulturs* (Abhandlungen der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 1913, 2); R. Scholz, *Eine Humanistische Schilderung der Kurie aus dem Jahre 1438, herausgegeben aus einer Vatikanischen Handschrift* (Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, XVI. 1); E. Heyfelder, *Die Ausdrücke "Renaissance" und "Humanismus"* (Deutsche Literaturzeitung, September 6); Ch. Moeller, *Les Buchers et les Auto-da-fé de l'Inquisition depuis le Moyen Âge*, I. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October).

## MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General reviews: R. Guyot, *Les Études Napoléoniennes en Allemagne, 1911-1912* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, November); C. Ballot, *Publications Anglaises* (ibid., September); E. Chapuisat, *Les Études Napoléoniennes en Suisse, 1912* (ibid.); A. Lumbroso, *Notes de Bibliographie Napoléonienne, Campagne de 1812* (Revue Napoléonienne, X, 5, 6).

Andrew C. S. Haggard has written of *Louis XI. and Charles the Bold* (London, S. Paul, 1913, pp. 412), and Edgecumbe Staley of their romantic contemporary *King René d'Anjou and his Seven Queens* (London, Long, 1913, pp. 366). Mention may also be made of *Pius II. und Ludwig XI. von Frankreich, 1461-1462*, by Dr. C. Lucius (Heidelberg, Winter, 1913).

The ninth volume of *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes* contains *Jakob Gretser und seine Dramen: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Jesuitendramas in Deutschland* by Professor A. Dürrwächter (Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1912, pp. vii, 218). A contemporary of Gretser in the Society of Jesus, the great theologian, *François Suarez*, is the subject of two fully documented volumes by R. de Scorraile, a member of the order (Paris, Lethielleux, 1913). A biography of one of their papal contemporaries, *Sisto Quinto*, is by Count Ugo Balzani (Genoa, Formiggini, 1913). The Benedictine Paul Denis has published, with an introduction on the Roman curia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the first volume (1601-1661) of *Nouvelles de Rome, précédées de Listes de tous les Fonctionnaires de la Cour de Rome* (Paris, Picard, 1913, pp. cl, 333). The period 1680-1684 is covered in the third volume of Bojani's *Innocent XI.: sa Correspondance avec ses Nonces* (Roulers, De Meester, 1912, pp. vi, 1102).

Father E. M. Rivière has published two fascicles of *Corrections et Additions à la Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, Supplément au de Backer-Sommervogel* (Toulouse, the author). This supplement will be an indispensable companion to its famous predecessor.

*A Candid History of the Jesuits* by Joseph McCabe (Putnam) is marked, we are assured, by careful research and excellent judgment.

The Prussian Historical Institute in Rome has finished, save for one volume, series I. (1533-1559) of its *Nuntiaturberichte*; in the third series Dr. Schellhass will soon have in press the nunciature of Felician Ninguarda, 1578-1583; in the fourth, Dr. A. O. Meyer's volume for Prag, 1603-1606, has already appeared. Dr. Hiltebrandt has finished the manuscript of volume II. (1740-1758) of *Die Beziehungen Preussens zur Römischen Kurie*.

On the Napoleonic campaigns the most notable recent volumes are *Napoleons Feldzug in Italien und Oesterreich, 1796-1797*, by F. Kirch-eisen (Munich, Müller, 1913); the first volume of *Kriege unter der*

*Regierung des Kaisers Franz, Befreiungskrieg, 1813 und 1814*, by O. Criste (Vienna, Seidel, 1913); the final volume on the campaign of 1815 of *Die Befreiungskriege, 1813-1815*, by R. Friederich (Berlin, Mittler, 1913); and Count Lefebvre de Béhaine's *La Campagne de France, Napoléon et les Alliés sur le Rhin* (Paris, Perrin, 1913, pp. xx, 568).

In assuming the rectorship of the University of Bonn on October 18, Professor Aloys Schulte, who holds the chair of medieval and modern history, fittingly took as the subject for his address, in commemoration of the centenary, *Die Schlacht bei Leipzig*. The address has been published in attractive pamphlet form, with notes and a plan (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1913, pp. 32).

William M. Fullerton, a correspondent of the *London Times*, has published an interesting and able survey of European affairs during the past half-century, entitled *Problems of Power, a Study of International Politics from Sadowa to Kirk-Kilisse* (London, Constable, 1913, pp. 323).

The growth of socialism has been recently studied by Professor O. Warschauer of Berlin in *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Sozialismus* (Berlin, Vahlen, 1913), and by Professor Tougan-Baranowsky of St. Petersburg in *L'Évolution Historique du Socialisme Moderne* (translated by J. Schapiro, Paris, Rivière, 1913, pp. 248). Professor W. Sombart has investigated the other side of the question in *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Modernen Kapitalismus*, of which he has published two volumes, *Luxus und Kapitalismus* and *Krieg und Kapitalismus* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1913, pp. viii, 220, viii, 232). More recently Professor Sombart has published *Der Bourgeois, zur Geschichte des Modernen Wirtschaftsmenschen* (*ibid.*).

The Russian interests in the dual alliance are specially considered in V. de Gorlof's *Origines et Bases de l'Alliance Franco-Russe* (Paris, Grasset, 1913).

Recent contributions to Jewish history include an edition of *Die Memoiren des Ascher Levy aus Reichshofen im Elsass, 1598-1635*, by M. Ginsburger (Berlin, Lamm, 1913); A. Altmann's *Geschichte der Juden in Stadt und Land Salzburg* (volume I., Berlin, Lamm, 1913); I. Freund's *Die Emanzipation der Juden in Preussen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Gesetzes vom 11. März 1812* (Berlin, Poppelauer, 1912, 2 vols.), and W. W. Kaplun-Kogan's *Die Wanderbewegungen der Juden* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1913, viii, 164), which is chiefly of value for the migration of the Russian Jews to the United States since 1880.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. B. Bury, *The Fall of Constantinople* (Yale Review, October); R. M. Jones, *A Forgotten Hero of the Reformation* [Sebastian Castellio, 1515-1563] (The Constructive Quarterly, June); P. Muret, *Une Conception Nouvelle de la Politique Étrangère de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine,



May, September); E. Driault, *Correspondance du Général Sebastiani, Ambassadeur à Constantinople, du 24 Décembre 1806 au 10 Mars 1807* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, November); G. Gromaire, *Arndt et Napoléon* (*ibid.*); E. Driault, *Le Grand-Duc Nicolas Mikhaïlowitch de Russie et les Études Napoléoniennes* (*ibid.*); *id.*, *Tilsit* (*ibid.*, September); G. Dickhuth, 1813, VI., VII. (Deutsche Rundschau, August, September); *id.*, *Das Ende der Fremdherrschaft in Deutschland*, I., II. (*ibid.*, October, November); F. Frahm, *Die Politische Lage beim Ausbruch des Deutsch-Dänischen Krieges* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIV. 4); E. Judet, *La Russie, la France, l'Europe, 1812-1912* (Revue Napoléonienne, X. 4).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

General review: G. Brodnitz, *Englische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, CI. 3).

The second volume of Bishop Stubbs's *Constitutional History of England*, in its French form, *Histoire Constitutionnelle de l'Angleterre*, translated by G. Lefebvre and provided with an introduction and notes by Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, has been published by Giard and Brière.

A ninth edition of Bishop Stubbs's *Select Charters*, revised by Professor H. W. C. Davis, has been issued by the Oxford University Press.

The Linacre Lecture for 1913, *The Physician in English History*, by Dr. Norman Moore, is announced by Messrs. Putnam, as the American agents for the Cambridge University Press. The same company also announces *Exercises and Problems in English History, 1485-1820*, by W. J. R. Gibbs, and *Great Britain and Ireland, 1485-1910*, by John E. Morris.

*The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, by E. Thurlow Leeds, is an attempt to set forth the problems of Anglo-Saxon research upon which archaeology can cast some light (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913).

In *English Life and Manners in the Middle Ages* (London, Routledge, 1913) Miss A. Abram has gathered much information on various aspects of life, and has presented it in interesting form.

It is proposed to commemorate in 1914 the seventh centenary of Roger Bacon's birth by erecting a statue, by Mr. Hope Pinker, in his honor, in the Natural History Museum at Oxford; by holding a commemoration at Oxford in July, when the statue will be unveiled and addresses will be given by distinguished scholars; by issuing a memorial volume of essays dealing with various aspects of Roger Bacon's work, written by specialists in the various subjects, and by raising a fund for the publication of his works. Of these the first volume, now in the press, will contain his unpublished treatise and commentary on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*, edited by Mr. Robert Steele. The second volume will probably contain the medical treatises, an edition of which is being prepared

by Dr. E. T. Withington and Mr. A. G. Little. Other volumes are expected to contain a complete edition of the *Opus Tertium*; the *Quaestiones* on Aristotle's Physics and Metaphysics, and on the *De Plantis*; the *Communia Mathematicae*, etc. It is probable that a Roger Bacon Society will be formed in July to carry out this programme of publication.

Volume I. of A. F. Pollard's *Reign of Henry VII. from Contemporary Sources* (Longmans), selected and arranged in three volumes, is well calculated to meet the needs of those teachers and students of history who have not access to the original documents.

The account of English relations with Ireland during the reigns of Henry VIII. and his three successors, which is to be the subject-matter of Philip Wilson's *The Beginnings of Modern Ireland* (Norman and Company), reaches in the volume recently published the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

Professor George W. Prothero has brought out a fourth edition of his valuable manual, *Selected Statutes and other Constitutional Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.* (Oxford University Press). This edition includes the High Commission of 1583, recently discovered in Dr. Williams's Library.

*The Life and Times of Gilbert Sheldon*, warden of All Souls College, Oxford, bishop of London, archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor of the University of Oxford, friend of Charles I. and Charles II., has been recently written by Vernon Staley (Milwaukee, *Young Churchman*, pp. 220).

G. P. Putnam's Sons have announced *The Puritans in Power: a Study in the History of the English Church from 1640 to 1660*, by G. B. Tatham.

No. II. of the series *English History in Contemporary Poetry*, published by G. Bell and Sons for the Historical Association, is by Mr. Charles L. Kingsford, and deals with Lancaster and York from 1399 to 1485, a period marked by a "dearth of good poetry". No. IV., *Court and Parliament, 1588 to 1688*, by Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, treats of a time in which there is not only much excellent literature but much that deals with the political events of the period.

After an excellent introductory chapter treating of such topics as the origin of the manor, the tenants, the dues, the manorial courts, and the history of the manor, Mrs. Catherine Whetham and her daughter Margaret have presented in *A Manor Book of Ottery Saint Mary* (Longmans), a "Survey of the Manor of Ottery St. Mary", from a manuscript volume dating from the end of the seventeenth century. To this Mr. W. C. D. Whetham has added a note on the history of the manor of Cadhay. The study is the result of "school-room lessons", and provides an excellent introduction to the study of seventeenth-century manorial history.

Professor C. H. Firth is the editor of a new illustrated edition of Macaulay's *History of England* which has been published by Messrs.

Macmillan and Company in a style similar to that of the recent edition of Green's *History of the English People*.

From Longmans, Green, and Company a *Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, by Basil Williams, has recently appeared, which is based on collections of manuscripts both public and private.

Mr. A. L. Humphreys has announced a *Life of Lord North* by Reginald Lucas, which seems to be a fair-minded study of a somewhat difficult subject.

The Navy Records Society has published vol. I. of *Private Papers of George, Second Earl Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty, 1794-1801*, edited by Julian S. Corbett, and volume IV. of *The Monson Tracts*, edited by Mr. M. Oppenheim. The volume of *Papers relating to the Scottish Navy* is to be issued soon.

*Lord Lyons: a Record of British Diplomacy*, by Lord Newton (2 vols., Longmans, 1913), presents a careful editing of the despatches and a picture of the man, though on the whole it is a diplomatic record rather than a biography.

*The Life of Edward Bulwer, First Lord Lytton*, written by his grandson, has been published by Messrs. Macmillan this fall.

J. A. Marriott has added a volume entitled *England since Waterloo to Oman's History of England* (Methuen and Company).

Professor Goldwin Smith's *Correspondence*, edited by Arnold Haultain (Duffield), covers the period from 1846 to 1910, and has much interesting matter for students both of English and of American history.

A biography of interest because of the manifold activities of the man is A. L. Thorold's life of his uncle, Henry Labouchere (Constable and Company), attaché at Washington, editor, and member of Parliament. A volume entitled *Reminiscences of Henry Labouchere* by C. E. Jeringham has also appeared recently from the press of the Macmillan Company.

A discussion of *Les Crises Industrielles en Angleterre* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1913) has been written by Professor Tougan-Baranowsky of St. Petersburg. The latest phases of the problem are also dealt with by Jacques Bardoux in *L'Angleterre Radicale: Essai de Psychologie Sociale, 1906-1913* (Paris, Alcan, 1913, pp. 559, reviewed by E. d'Eichthal, *Revue Critique*, August 9).

Those interested in the study of English local history either for its own sake or for the light which it may throw on the history of a wider field cannot but find much that is helpful in Mr. H. C. M. Lambert's *History of Banstead in Surrey* (Frowde). The editor, after a brief introduction, which sketches the history of the parish, presents a series of translations of documents beginning with entries in Domesday Book and ending with population statistics of 1911. Following this he gives in an appendix the originals of a number of his translations. The docu-

ments include many manorial accounts, citations from court rolls, various surveys of the manor, rent-rolls, and churchwardens' accounts. There is a map of the manor in 1841 and several excellent illustrations.

From the press of Maclehose and Sons comes a little book entitled *Stirling Castle: its Place in Scottish History*, by Eric S. Kerr. After sketching the history of the castle the author describes its buildings, its relation to other Scottish castles, its associations, and its place in literature. As was to be expected he makes much of Queen Mary's sojourns at the castle and its connection with her romantic career. Eighteen illustrations add to the pleasure to be derived from the book.

The Oxford University Press has issued new editions of Sir Charles Lucas's *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, part I. of the volume *South Africa* being by Sir Charles Lucas, part III. by A. B. Keith, who has also revised the volume *West Africa*.

*The Reconstruction of the New Colonies under Lord Milner, 1902-1905*, by W. Basil Worsfold, is a work based on Lord Milner's diaries and unpublished correspondence.

*A History of the Zulu Rebellion, 1906, and of Dinuzulu's Arrest, Trial, and Expatriation*, by Capt. J. Stuart (Macmillan), is an admirable account of the military operations during the rebellion, with some inquiry into the issues at stake.

*The Making of the Australian Commonwealth, 1889-1900: a Stage in the Growth of Empire*, by B. R. Wise (New York, Longmans, 1913, pp. xiii, 365), furnishes an account of the agitation and of the prolonged debates, especially in New South Wales, which gradually led to the adoption of the constitution of the commonwealth.

British documentary publications: *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, March 1, 1678, to December 31, 1678, with Addenda, 1674 to 1679; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, of the Reign of William III., 1696, ed. W. J. Hardy.

Other documentary publications: *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, Episcopi Lincolnensis*, 1235-1253, part IV. (Canterbury and York Society); *Speculum Dioeceseos Lincolnensis sub Episcopis Gul. Wake et Edm. Gibson*, part I. (Lincoln Record Society, vol. IV.), also the *Second Annual Report*, 1911-1912.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. Kolsrud, *The Celtic Bishops in the Isle of Man, the Hebrides and Orkneys* (*Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, IX. 3); James Wilson, *Medieval Education at Carlisle* (*Scottish Historical Review*, October); F. Liebermann, *A Contemporary Manuscript of the "Leges Anglorum Londoniis collectae"* (*English Historical Review*, October); L. Leclère, *La Grande Charte d'Angleterre* (*Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, March); W. T. Waugh, *Archbishop Peckham and Pluralities* (*English Historical Review*, October); W. T. Waugh,

*The Lollard Knights* (Scottish Historical Review, October); Miss Theodora Keith, *The Trading Privileges of the Royal Burghs of Scotland* (English Historical Review, October); R. K. Hannay, *Letters of the Papal Legate in Scotland, 1543* [with translations of the letters and a note by the Rev. Father Pollen, S. J.] (Scottish Historical Review, October); C. G. Bayne, *The Visitation of the Province of Canterbury, 1559* (English Historical Review, October); J. F. Chance, *The Antecedents of the Treaty of Hanover* (*ibid.*, October); R. H. Tawney, *The Assessment of Wages in England by the Justices of the Peace* (Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XI. 3); C. K. Ogden, *Der Syndikalismus in England* (Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, XXXVII. 2).

### FRANCE

General reviews: J. Letaconnoux, *Bulletin d'Histoire et de Géographie Économiques* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, July); R. Reuss, *Histoire de France, Révolution* (Revue Historique, November).

Ferdinand Lot's *Études Critiques sur l'Abbaye de Saint-Wandrille* (Champion, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, pp. 258) gives an edition of the early charters of this abbey, accompanied by critical studies of some importance for Norman history.

The first volume of Hilaire Belloc's *A History of the French People* (Chapman and Hall), intended for the use of schools as well as for the general reader, has recently appeared.

*The History of the Grain Trade in France, 1400-1700*, by Dr. Abbott P. Usher, is a study of the growth of the trade from the time of the first local markets to the wholesale marketing of to-day (Harvard University Press).

A group of brilliant essays by Louis Madelin is collected under the title of *France et Rome* (Paris, Plon, 1913, pp. 407). The relations between the Church in France and the papacy from the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges to the Concordat of 1801 are sketched.

A new life of *Jeanne d'Arc d'après les Documents Contemporains* is by F. de Richemont (Paris, Desclée, de Brouwer, and Company, 1913, pp. xvi, 592). F. Guillon has published an *Étude Historique sur le Journal du Siège qui fut mis devant Orléans en 1428-1429* (Paris, Picard, 1913, pp. 154), which he attributes to Guillaume Cousinot, chancellor of the duchy of Orléans and author of the *Geste des Nobles François*.

The thesis of Dr. R. Osterloh on *Fénelon und die Anfänge der Literarischen Opposition gegen das Politische System Ludwigs XIV.* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1913, pp. vi, 52) summarizes the political ideas of Fénelon and shows their relation to the contemporary criticisms of the government and policy of Louis XIV.

The two theses of J. B. Belin, *Le Mouvement Philosophique de 1748 à 1789, d'après les Documents concernant l'Histoire de la Librairie*, and *Le Commerce des Livres Prohibés à Paris de 1750 à 1789* (Paris, 1913), furnish many interesting details. Dr. R. L. Cru has published a thesis on *Diderot as a Disciple of English Thought* (New York, 1913) in the *Columbia University Studies in Romance Philology and Literature*. A curious contrast is Canon Marcel's biography of the less famous *Frère de Diderot* (Paris, Champion, 1913, pp. xiii, 221), who was an ecclesiastical dignitary. The first volume of a new edition of the *Oeuvres de Turgot et Documents le concernant* has been published by Gustave Schelle (Paris, Alcan, 1913, pp. 684).

M. Tourneux has completed his *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution Française* with a fifth volume containing the indexes (Paris, 1913, pp. v, 1030).

Professor Albert Mathiez, who has recently gone from Nancy to the University of Besançon, has edited an admirable source-book, *Les Grandes Journées de la Constituante* (Paris, Hachette, 1913, pp. 124) for the series *L'Histoire par les Contemporains*. The volume makes no pretense of furnishing all the sources for each event, but is rather a mosaic of short extracts from many sources arranged to furnish a running account of six topics, the union of the three orders, the revolution of July 14, the insurrection of October 5 and 6, the federation of July 14, 1790, the flight to Varennes, and the massacre of the Champs de Mars.

Recent issues of the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française* are *Cahiers de Doléances des Sénéchaussées de Niort et de Saint-Maixent*, edited by L. Cathelineau; and the second volume of *Les Subsistances en Céréales dans le District de Chaumont*, edited by C. Lorain (Paris, Leroux, 1912). It should be noted that the volumes of cahiers in this series contain carefully edited information concerning the status of each parish or other division in 1789 and also concerning the various steps in the electoral process of that year.

In a Nebraska doctoral dissertation, *The Uprising of June 20, 1792*, Miss Laura B. Pfeiffer shows excellent control of the sources and of critical methods.

P. Lacombe of the National Library has published, with introduction and notes, a translation of Sir John Dean Paul's anonymous *Journal of a Party of Pleasure to Paris in the Month of August, 1802*, for the *Société d'Histoire Contemporaine* (Paris, Picard, 1913, pp. xxix, 162). Count Boulay de la Meurthe has contributed to the volume an appendix containing three letters drawn from the Condé papers, which add some interesting details to the description of Paris in 1802.

*Un Secrétaire de Robespierre, Simon Duplay, 1774-1827, et son Mémoire sur les Sociétés Secrètes et les Conspirations sous la Restauration*



tion (Paris, Revue Internationale des Sociétés Secrètes, 1913, pp. 49), by L. Grasilier, throws most valuable light on the little known revolutionary movements of the Restoration period. Duplay was employed in the ministry of police from 1798 until his death, and in 1823 prepared the report which M. Grasilier has recently discovered in the national archives and has printed in this pamphlet. The liberal party in France under the Restoration is the subject of an excellent study in Russian by V. A. Boutenko (St. Petersburg, 1913, reviewed by P. Chasles, *Revue Historique*, September) who has made prolonged researches in the Paris archives. The present volume carries the account only to 1820.

*French Prophets of Yesterday: a Study of Religious Thought under the Second Empire*, by Albert Leon Guérard (Appleton), is marked by scholarship and skillful presentation.

The publication of Lieutenant-Colonel Picard's *Sedan* in 1912 stirred up a considerable discussion in the periodical press, which was summarized in two pages under the heading *La Question Bazaine* by E. Driault in the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes* for January, 1913. In closing the note, M. Driault vigorously demanded why Bazaine had surrendered "sans se battre, sans le moindre tentative pour percer les lignes d'investissement". Further fuel was added to the fire by M. Ollivier's latest articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Among those who have entered the fray are General Palat (Pierre Lehautcourt) with two volumes on *Bazaine et nos Désastres en 1870* (Paris, Chapelot, 1913), and P. Lanoir with *Le Maréchal Bazaine et la Capitulation de Metz* (Antibes, Roux, 1913), of which one volume has appeared. *L'Agonie d'une Armée, Metz, Avril-Octobre 1870, Souvenirs d'un Porte-Étendard de l'Armée du Rhin*, by Commandant Farinet, edited by C. Robert-Dumas (Paris, Éditions Scientifica, 1913), is therefore a volume of timely interest.

M. de Freycinet has concluded his *Souvenirs* (Paris, Delagrave, 1913, pp. 520) in a second volume which deals with the period from 1878 to 1893, during which he was four times premier. The volume includes interesting materials regarding the origins of the dual alliance.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Aubert, *Un Grand Magistrat du XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Simon de Bucy, 1292-7 Mai 1369* (*Revue des Études Historiques*, September); M. Hébert, *Jeanne d'Arc a-t-elle Abjuré?* (*Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, July); H. Prutz, *Studien zur Geschichte der Jungfrau von Orléans* (*Sitzungsberichte der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1913, 2); A. Cans, *Le Rôle Politique de l'Assemblée du Clergé pendant la Fronde, 1650-1651* (*Revue Historique*, September); G. Martin, *La Surintendance de Fouquet et les Opérations de Crédit Public* (*Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, VI. 1); R. Durand, *La Taille dans les Généralités du Secrétariat d'État de la Maison du Roi sous Louis XIV., 1683-1709* (*ibid.*, VI. 2); F. Puaux, *L'Évolution des Théories Politiques du Protestantisme*

*Français pendant le Règne de Louis XIV.* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, September); F. Fosseyeux, *Le Cardinal de Noailles et l'Administration du Diocèse de Paris, 1695-1729*, I. (Revue Historique, November); F. K. Mann, *Justification du Système de Law par son Auteur: Manuscrit inédit, publié avec une Introduction* (Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, VI. 1); C. Schmidt, *Les Débuts de l'Industrie Cotonnière en France, 1760-1806*, I. (*ibid.*, VI. 3); G. Weulersse, *Marquis de Mirabeau: Bref État des Moyens pour la Restauration de l'Autorité du Roi et de ses Finances, avec des Notes de François Quesnay* (*ibid.*, VI. 2); E. Allix, *La Rivalité entre la Propriété Foncière et la Fortune Mobilière sous la Révolution* (*ibid.*, VI. 3); J. Letacounoux, *L'État et l'Importation des Grains Méditerranéens en France sous la Révolution* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XI. 3); G. Vauthier, *Les Ouvriers de Paris sous l'Empire* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, November); O. Festy, *Le Mouvement Ouvrier à Paris en 1840*, I., II. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July, September); G. Bourgin, *La Législation Ouvrière du Second Empire* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September).

#### ITALY AND SPAIN

General review: R. Altamira, *Histoire d'Espagne, Années 1909-1912* (Revue Historique, November).

F. Savio of the Society of Jesus has published the first part, dealing with Milan, of *Gli Antichi Vescovi d'Italia dalla Origine al 1300, descritti per Regioni* (Florence, Libreria Fiorentina, 1913, pp. xx, 974).

In the series *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, edited by P. F. Kehr, the first part of volume six of the *Italia Pontificia* has recently appeared (Berlin, Weidmann, 1913, pp. xlv, 419), dealing with Lombardy.

An interesting collection of *Lettres de Princes et de Princesses appartenant à la Maison de Savoie*, dating from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and preserved in the Library of Lyons, has been edited by L. Caillet (Paris, Champion, 1913).

F. Donaver has published a popular, illustrated account of *La Storia della Repubblica di Genova* (2 vols., Genoa, Libreria Moderna, 1913, pp. xvi, 389, 415). Of more scholarly value is F. Podestà's *Il Porto di Genova dalle Origini fino alla Caduta della Repubblica Genovese, 1797* (Genoa, Spiotti, 1913, pp. xii, 639).

Sandonà's *Il Regno Lombardo-Veneto* (Milan, Cogliati, 1913) and Sardi's *Lucca e il suo Ducato* (Florence, Rassegna Nazionale, 1913) both deal with the period 1814-1859.

The economic, political, and social conditions of Sicily are described in Nicastro's *Dal Quarantotto al Sessanta* (Milan, Albright, Legati, and Company, 1913). Professor E. Solmi has published a study on *Mazzini e Gioberti* (Milan, Soc. Ed. Dante Alighieri, 1913). *Carteggio Politico*,

*Aprile-Novembre, 1859*, by L. G. de Cambray-Digny (Milan, Treves, 1913), one of the figures of the Risorgimento, has appeared.

The Hispanic Society of America has published a *Bibliographie Hispanique, 1910* (New York, 1913).

J. Puyol y Alonso has published an historical study of *Las Hermandades de Castilla y León* (Madrid, 1913) to which he has appended the unpublished ordinances of Castronuño.

*Spanish Islam*, by Professor Reinhart Dozy, is translated with additions and corrections by Francis G. Stokes and published by Duffield and Company.

Rafael Sabatini's *Torquemada and the Spanish Inquisition* (Stanley Paul) shows considerable research and conspicuous fairness.

The influence of the French Revolution no doubt was felt more in Catalonia than in any other part of the Spanish peninsula, so that the study by A. Ossorio y Gallardo of *Historia del Pensamiento Político Catalán durante la Guerra de España con la República Francesa, 1793 à 1795* (Oliva, Villanueva y Geltrú, 1913, pp. xxx, 271) deals with a topic of no inconsiderable interest. The author proposes to follow this with other volumes on the development of political ideas in Catalonia.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Volpe, *Per la Storia delle Giurisdizioni Vescovili della Costituzione Comunale e dei Rapporti fra Stato e Chiesa nelle Città Medievali: Vescovi e Comune di Massa Marittima* (Studi Storici, XXI. 1); P. Silva, *Ordinamento Interno e Contrasti Politici e Sociali in Pisa sotto il Dominio Visconteo* (ibid., XXI. 1); M. Luna, *Intervencion de Benedicto XIII. (D. Pedro de Luna) en el Compromiso de Caspe* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, May); *Correspondencia de los Reyes Católicos con el Gran Capitan durante las Campañas de Italia* [conclusion] (ibid., January, May); A. Vigeveno, *Gli Ultimi Telegrammi del Governo Pontificio* (Nuova Antologia, September 16).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General reviews: F. Vigener, *Histoire de l'Allemagne, Moyen Âge*, II. (Revue Historique, November); P. Darmstaedter, *Histoire de l'Allemagne, de 1648 à nos Jours* (ibid., September).

A surprising number of facts is presented in a comprehensive survey of *Die Germanischen Reiche der Völkerwanderung* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1913, pp. 111) by Dr. Ludwig Schmidt of the Royal Library at Dresden. Two maps and eight plates complete this latest issue, number 120, of the series *Wissenschaft und Bildung*.

The fifth volume of *Quellen und Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte des Deutschen Reiches in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Weimar, Bohlau, 1913, pp. xii, 319; viii, 124; xii, 134) contains M. Krammer's *Das Kurfür-*

stenkolleg von seinen Anfängen bis zum Zusammenschluss im Renser Kurverein des Jahres 1338; G. Schmidt's *Das Würzburgische Herzogtum und die Grafen und Herren von Ostfranken vom 11. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*; and F. Becker's *Das Königtum der Thronfolger im Deutschen Reich des Mittelalters*. In Professor Meister's *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1913), Professor Meister has contributed the section on *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte von den Anfängen bis ins 14. Jahrhundert*; and Professor A. Werminghoff the one on *Verfassungsgeschichte der Deutschen Kirche im Mittelalter*. Still another monograph is Dr. O. Eberbach's *Die Deutsche Reichsritterschaft in ihrer staatsrechtlich-politischen Entwicklung von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1495* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1913, pp. viii, 178).

Dr. Otto Posse has published in four finely illustrated volumes *Die Siegel der Deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751-1806* (Dresden, Baensch-Stiftung, 1912-1913). A supplement is included for the present German Empire, 1871-1913.

The thesis of Dr. W. Gerlach, *Die Entstehungszeit der Stadtbefestigungen in Deutschland* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1913, pp. vi, 81), agrees in general with the conclusions of Rietschel that few towns were walled prior to the reign of Frederick Barbarossa, but adds to Rietschel's list of eleven towns walled at an earlier date 23 other towns, for each of which he presents the evidence in detail. The thesis includes a study of the significance at different epochs of the different Latin words used in the documents or chronicles to designate towns. Dr. Gerlach's thesis is the thirty-fourth number of the *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen*; the thirty-fifth number is by Dr. H. Achilles on *Die Beziehungen der Stadt Braunschweig zum Reich* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1913, pp. 65) which deals mainly with the fifteenth century, though the account is carried to 1671.

Professor Henry C. Vedder's *The Reformation in Germany* has recently been announced by the Macmillan Company.

Volume II. of the English version of Dr. Hartmann Grisar's life of Luther, translated by E. M. Lamond, has recently appeared from the press of Kegan Paul.

P. Wappler's *Die Tauferbewegung in Thüringen von 1526-1584* (Jena, Fischer, 1913) is an elaborate study of the movement. The Anabaptist martyr, *Balthasar Hubmaier*, is the subject of a recent volume by W. Mau (Berlin, Rothschild, 1912, pp. vi, 187). An important contribution to the local history of the Reformation is a new edition of H. Hamelmann's *Reformationsgeschichte Westfalens* prepared by K. Löffler and published by the Historical Commission for the Province of Westphalia (Münster, Aschendorff, 1913). The adoption of an anti-Protestant policy by the ducal house of Bavaria is elucidated by the volume of *Beiträge zur Geschichte Herzog Albrecht's V. und der sogenannten Adelsver-*

*schwörung von 1563*, edited by Professor W. Goetz and L. Theobald, as volume 16 of *Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des 16<sup>ten</sup> Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1913, pp. xii, 548).

Dr. Reinhold Koser, the director of the Prussian state archives, has published the first of three volumes on the *Geschichte der Brandenburgisch-Preussischen Politik* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1913). The treaties of Westphalia terminate the first volume.

The fourth and concluding volume of *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx, 1844 bis 1883*, edited by A. Bebel and E. Bernstein (Stuttgart, Dietz, 1913), has recently appeared. Bebel's *Aus Meinem Leben* (Stuttgart, Dietz, 1910-1911, 2 vols.) has been issued in an abridged English edition by the University of Chicago Press, with the title *My Life* (1913, pp. 343).

Under the title *Bundestag und Deutsche Nationalversammlung im Jahre 1848* (Frankfort-on-the-Main, Baer, 1913, pp. lxxv, 207), Professor Otto Perthes has published a fragment of the correspondence of his father Clemens Theodor Perthes, who represented in the Bundestag in 1848 the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen. Most of the letters were addressed to the duke between April 16 and August 1, 1848. An introduction of 35 pages by G. Kuntzel discusses the political career and ideas of the elder Perthes.

*Der Deutsche Kaiser, eine Rechtshistorische Studie* by W. W. Rauer (Berlin Puttkammer and Mühlbrecht, 1913, pp. 117), and *Die Finanz- und Zollpolitik des Deutschen Reiches* by W. Gerloff (Jena, Fischer, 1913, pp. xvi, 353) are recent monographs on the institutions of the present German Empire. To these may be added a volume by P. Heitz on *Le Droit Constitutionnel de l'Alsace* (Paris, Pichon and Durand-Auzias, 1913).

Colonel Roosevelt has supplied the introduction to *Hungary's Fight for National Existence: or the History of the Great Uprising led by Francis Rákóczi II., 1703-1711*, by Ladislav Baron Hengelmüller, published by Messrs. Macmillan and Company.

The correspondence between Metternich and Friedrich von Gentz from 1803 to 1832 is contained in the third volume of *Briefe von und an Friedrich von Gentz*, edited by the late F. C. Wittichen and E. Salzer (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1913, pp. xl, 486).

The *Festgabe für Gerold Meyer von Knonau* (Zürich, 1913, pp. xv, 501), in honor of his seventieth birthday, contains essays by nineteen of his friends. Among them may be mentioned C. Rodenberg's "Die Friedensverhandlungen zwischen Friedrich II. und Innocenz IV., 1243-1244"; H. Nabholz's "Der Zusammenhang der Eidgenössischen Bünde mit der Gleichzeitigen Deutschen Bündnispolitik"; and P. Schweizer's "Neckers Politische Rolle in der Französischen Revolution".

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Hampe, *Die Neue "Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte"* (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, October 18); P. Sander, *Ueber die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit* (*Schmoller's Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung*, XXXVII. 1); G. Seeliger, *Handwerk und Hofrecht* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIV. 4); L. Cristiani, *Luther au Couvent, 1505-1517*, I. (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, October); M. Baumann, *Schöns Urteil über Stein als Finanzmann* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIV. 3); J. Bleyer, *Friedrich und Dorothea Schlegels nebst amtlichen Berichten und Denkschriften aus den Jahren 1815 bis 1817* (*Ungarische Rundschau*, July, October); H. Oncken, *Publizistische Quellen zu den Beziehungen zwischen Bismarck und Lassalle* (*Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, IV. 1); Géza von Ferdinandy, *Die Thronfolge im Zeitalter der Könige aus dem Arpadenhouse* (*Ungarische Rundschau*, October); J. Szekfü, *Die Servienten und Familiaren im Ungarischen Mittelalter* (*ibid.*, July); R. Zehntbauer, *Gesamtstaat, Dualismus, und Pragmatische Sanktion* (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, September 13, 20); A. Guillard, *Les Études Historiques en Suisse* (*Revue de Synthèse Historique*, April).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

General review: E. Hubert, *Histoire de Belgique, 1911-1912* (*Revue Historique*, September).

*An Historiographie der Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis van Nederland* (Haarlem, Tjeenk, Willink, and Zoon, 1913) has been compiled by A. Hulshof.

Dutch history during the period of French domination is the subject of *Nederland voor Honderd Jaren, 1795-1813*, by W. E. A. Wüppermann (Amsterdam, Scheltens and Giltay, 1913, pp. iv, 540).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. S. Unger, *De Oudste Nederlandsche Bevolkingsstatistiek* (*De Economist*, November); M. de Préau-deau, *Les Origines du Mouvement Socialiste Belge, 1864-1878*, I. (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, September).

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: G. Gautier, *Histoire de Russie, 1911-1912* (*Revue Historique*, September).

*A History of Russia* by V. O. Kluchevsky, late professor of Russian history in the University of Moscow, translated by C. J. Hogarth (New York, Dutton, 2 vols.), is a series of brilliant essays dealing with economic, social, and institutional development in Russia. The translation is not altogether satisfactory.



The latest issue of the *Acta Pontificum Danica* is the fifth volume, covering the period 1492-1513, edited by A. Krarup and J. Lindbaek (Copenhagen, Gad, 1913).

In an essay entitled *Scottish Influences in Russian History from the end of the Sixteenth Century to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century* (Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1913, pp. 142), Mr. A. Francis Steuart describes many strange and entertaining careers, such as that of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, Marshal Keith, and various other military officers, court physicians, etc., from the time of Ivan the Terrible down. They are, however, given in a sketchy manner involving no great amount of research.

A wealth of publications has recently appeared in Russia relating to the reign of Alexander I. and to the Russian campaigns against Napoleon. *Imperator Alexandr I., Opyt Istoricheskago Izsledovania*, by the Grand Duke Nicolas Mikhailovitch (St. Petersburg, 1912, 2 vols.); and a collection of about sixty articles on the campaign of 1812 and Russian society in seven volumes, *Otetchestvennaia Voïna i Rousskoïe Obshchestvo* (Moscow, 1911-1912), are the more important. Prince Koudachev has published an account of the campaign of 1812, which he intends to form the third volume of a projected *Istoria Imperatora Alexandra Pavlovitcha* (Moscow, 1912, pp. 441).

The first part of Stanislas Mnémon's *L'Origine des Poniatowski* (Warsaw, Wende and Company, 1913, pp. x, 267) contains material relating to Stanislas Poniatowski, the father of the king, who was especially notable for his relations with Charles XII.

An interesting chapter of Rumanian history is chronicled in D. D. Jurasco's *L'Influence Russe dans les Pays Moldo-Valaques, 1773-1812* (Châteauroux, Badel, 1913, pp. 92).

The sixth edition of E. Driault's *La Question d'Orient* brings the narrative down to 1913 (Paris, Alcan, 1913). A Rumanian diplomatist, T. G. Djuvara, has gathered a wealth of materials in *Cent Projets de Partage de la Turquie, 1281-1913* (Paris, Alcan, 1913). Many recent treaties and diplomatic documents are printed in the volume.

Two interesting accounts of the Balkan War from the Turkish side have been written by officers who were trained at Saint-Cyr. Djemil Munir Bey has written *La Cavalerie Turque pendant la Guerre Turco-Bulgare* (Paris, Chapelot, 1913), and Lieutenant Selim Bey, *Carnet de Campagne d'un Officier Turc* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1913). *Avec les Vaincus* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1913, pp. xvi, 342) is an account of the campaign in Thrace by Georges Rémond, the correspondent of *L'Illustration*. Mahmoud Moukhtar Pasha has written *Mon Commandement au Cours de la Campagne des Balkans de 1912* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1913, pp. xx, 195), and Izzet Fuad Pasha, inspector general of the Turkish cavalry, *Paroles de Vaincu. Après le Désastre. Avant la Retranche* (Paris, Chapelot, 1913).

Accounts have been published of each of the three great sieges of the Balkan War. Colonel Piarron de Mondésir, who was sent by the French government to Adrianople at the close of the siege, has described the *Siège et Prise d'Adrianople* (Paris, Chapelot, 1913). The experiences of the besieged city are recited in G. Cirilli's *Journal du Siège d'Adrianople, Impressions d'un Assiégé* (Paris, Chapelot, 1913, pp. viii, 199). *La Ville Assiégée, Janina* (Paris, Colmann-Levy, 1913) is from the pen of the novelist Guy Chantepleur, who was in the besieged town. Jérôme and Jean Tharaud are the authors of *La Bataille à Scutari d'Albanie* (Paris, Emile-Paul, 1913, pp. 288).

Other accounts of the Balkan War include *Sur le Théâtre de la Guerre des Balkans* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1913) by General Herr of the French artillery, who made a private tour in November and December, 1912; the first volume of *La Guerre des Balkans de 1912* by Lieutenant-Colonel Immanuel (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1913, pp. 118); H. Dugard's *Histoire de la Guerre contre les Turcs* (Paris, Le Soudier, 1913); Jean Leune's *Une Étape, une Revanche, Campagne de l'Armée Hellénique en Macédoine, 1912* (Paris, Chapelot, 1913); and *Feuilles de Route Bulgares, Journal de Marche d'un Correspondant de Guerre pendant la Campagne de 1912 en Thrace* (Paris, Chapelot, 1913).

The Parisian publisher of works on military science and military history, Chapelot, has announced a group of three volumes on the Balkan War of 1913: G. Bourdon's *La Guerre de Trente Jours: la Campagne Gréco-Bulgare*; A. de Penennrun's *Quarante Jours de Guerre dans les Balkans, Campagne Serbo-Bulgare*; and Lieutenant-Colonel Bouca-beille's *La 2<sup>e</sup> Guerre Balkanique*. The Parisian review, *Graecia*, has also put out a volume on *La Guerre Gréco-Bulgare*, written by various French and Greek contributors.

Charles Vellay's *L'Irrédentisme Hellénique* (Paris, Perrin, 1913) is based upon visits to Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, the Aegean islands, and Cyprus, the regions whose situation and relations to Greece are discussed. André Chéradame has surveyed the movements in the Balkans since 1900 in *Douze Ans de Propagande en Faveur des Peuples Balkaniques* (Paris, Plon, 1913, pp. 412). The French edition of *Les Albanais et les Grandes Puissances*, by the former Servian premier, Dr. Vladan Georgevitch, has been prepared by Prince Alexis Karageorgevitch (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1913). Professor Louis Léger has published a volume of essays on *Serbes, Croates, et Bulgares* (Paris, Maisonneuve, 1913). The government of the Young Turks is discussed in Victor Bérard's *La Mort de Stamboul* (Paris, Colin, 1913, pp. xiii, 421). Still another phase of the Ottoman question is dealt with in M. Léart's *La Question Arménienne* (Paris, Challamel, 1913), and in L. de Contenson's *Les Réformes en Turquie d'Asie: la Question Arménienne, la Question Syrienne* (Paris, Plon, 1913).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Heusler, *Zum Isländischen Fehdewesen in der Sturlungenzeit* (Abhandlungen der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 1912, 4); J. Dräseke, *Der Uebergang der Osmanen nach Europa im XIV. Jahrhundert* (Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, XXXI. 7); C. Radulescu-Motru, *Charles I<sup>er</sup> Roi de Roumanie* (La Revue de Paris, November 1); Captain Bantsekov, *Souvenirs des Faits de Guerre du 60<sup>e</sup> Régiment d'Infanterie de Zamosc pendant la Guerre Russo-Japonaise, 1904-1905*, I. (Journal des Sciences Militaires, November 1); Feldmarschall Freiherr von der Goltz, *Erinnerungen an Mahmud Schewket Pascha* (Deutsche Rundschau, October, November).

#### THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

*Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking*, by Edward Backhouse and J. O. P. Bland (Heinemann), is based to a large extent on material drawn from state papers, and from private diaries. It covers the history of the rulers from the last of the Mings to the fall of the Manchus.

Edmond Rottach's *La Chine en Révolution* (Paris, Perrin, 1913) contains an account of recent events, including the administration under the provisional government, and the affairs not only at Peking, but also at Canton and Nankin.

The indefatigable Professor Henri Cordier has added to the publications of the École Française d'Extrême Orient a *Bibliotheca Indosinica*, *Dictionnaire Bibliographique des Ouvrages relatifs à la Péninsule Indochinoise* (vol. II., Paris, Leroux, 1913).

Volume I. of the *Cambridge History of India*, edited by E. J. Rapson, T. W. Haig, and Sir Theodore Morison, has been issued by the Macmillan Company. It bears the title, *Ancient India from the Earliest Historical Times to about the Beginning of the Christian Era*.

The government of India, which has printed in two elaborately illustrated volumes Sir Aurel Stein's *Ancient Khotan: Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan*, carried out by him under the orders of that government, has lately followed this by publishing through the Clarendon Press *Les Documents Chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les Sables du Turkestan Oriental*, edited and translated by Professor Édouard Chavannes of the Collège de France.

H. van Hogendorp has brought out a small volume, based largely on unpublished materials, on *Willem van Hogendorp in Nederlandsch-Indie, 1825-1830* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1913, pp. vi, 222).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Márki, *Turaner in der Geschichte Asiens* (Ungarische Rundschau, July); J. Griziotti-Kretschmann, *La Colonizzazione della Siberia; Cenni Storici e Legislativi* (Giornale degli Economisti e Rivista di Statistica, June).

## AMERICA

## GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published its *Guide to the Materials for United States History in Canadian Archives*, compiled chiefly by Mr. David W. Parker, now of the staff of the Dominion Archives, and *Guide to the Materials for United States History in Mexican Archives*, by Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. The Department of Historical Research expects in February, 1914, to send Professor Frank A. Golder of Washington State College to St. Petersburg and Moscow to search for such materials in the archives there; and expects that Professor William I. Hull of Swarthmore College will spend the summer months in a similar quest in the various archives of the Netherlands. For the expected volumes of *Proceedings and Debates in Parliament respecting North America*, Mr. A. C. Dudley has nearly completed the noting of excerpts from the *Lords Journals*. It is expected that Mr. Francis S. Philbrick will during the summer continue in the Archives of the Indies at Seville the work performed there by Mr. R. R. Hill, by an analogous examination of the Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Prints of Mr. Hill's photographs of documents in the Archives of the Indies are now ready for subscribers. It is now understood that Mr. Leland's work in the French archives will detain him in Paris until next autumn.

General review: W. T. Jackman, *The International Trade and Trade Policy of the United States* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, October).

The nineteenth International Congress of Americanists will meet in Washington, D. C., October 5 to 10, 1914. Titles of papers to be presented should be sent to the secretary, Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, National Museum, Washington, who will also receive applications for membership, for which the fee is five dollars. Interesting archaeological excursions are planned.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society at the meeting of April, 1913, contains an account of the career of the privateer *Yankee* in the War of 1812, by Professor Wilfred H. Munro; a group of anthropological materials collected by Professor Alexander F. Chamberlin, under the title *Wisdom of the North American Indian in Speech and Legend*; *Some Humors of American History*, by Mr. James Ford Rhodes; and a collection, edited by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, of letters which John Quincy Adams during his residence at St. Petersburg, 1811-1814, wrote to various members of his family, letters of unusual interest and historical value.

The American Jewish Historical Society will hold its twenty-second annual meeting in Philadelphia on February 22 and 23.

Another volume on the history of European nationalities in the United States is the *Histoire de la Race Française aux États-Unis*, by the Abbé D. M. A. Magnan (Paris, Amat, 1913, pp. xvi, 361).

*The Monroe Doctrine: an Obsolete Shibboleth* (Yale University Press), by Dr. Hiram Bingham, is a trenchant criticism of the doctrine in practically all its forms and applications, barring, perhaps, its first promulgation. The author maintains that adherence to the Monroe Doctrine, in the aggressive form which it has come to assume, is not only in disregard of the accepted principles of international law, but is fraught with serious consequences to ourselves. He points out (and this is the chief burden as well as the chief merit of the book) that the big-brother attitude assumed by the United States toward the Latin-American republics is particularly distasteful to those peoples and is engendering animosities toward this country. The author's plea is for an abandonment of the doctrine and the substitution of a policy of friendly co-operation. For the purpose of dealing with obstreperous states he suggests a concert of the principal American powers.

*Lieutenant Joshua Hewes, a New England Pioneer, and some of his Descendants, with Materials for a Genealogical History of other Families of the Name; and a Sketch of Joseph Hewes the Signer* (pp. xvi, 656), edited and chiefly compiled by Eben Putnam, is privately printed. The cost of preparation and publication was sustained by Mr. David Hewes, of Orange, California, who writes a preface for the book. Lieutenant Joshua Hewes, who came to Roxbury in 1633 and afterward settled in Boston, was prominent as a merchant and held a number of town offices. This account of his career, covering a period of more than forty years, includes much of local history. The sketch of Joseph Hewes, the Signer (pp. 265-310), comprises some material supplied by Mr. Dexter H. Walker of Jamaica, New York, together with a reprint of the sketch in Sanderson's *Biography of the Signers* and of that by Professor E. W. Sikes in the *North Carolina Booklet*. An appendix (pp. 518-540) contains letters written (1850-1851) by Mrs. Ruth Hewes to her son, David Hewes.

The September number of *Americana* contains some chapters by J. C. Gordon on the Discovery, Early Descriptions, and first Settlements of Prince Edward Island, and a contribution by J. H. Brown concerning the settlement of Germans along the Hudson and Schoharie in the early eighteenth century, including a transcript from the diary of Conrad Weiser.

Professor Erich Marcks has printed in attractive pamphlet form his farewell address at Hamburg, with the title *Historische und Akademische Eindrücke aus Nordamerika* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1913, pp. 55). The address gives some of Professor Marcks's impressions of America during his visit last year.

The third volume of the *Bibliothèque France-Amérique*, entitled *Les États-Unis et la France* (Paris, Alcan, 1913, pp. 225), is composed of essays, chiefly relating to the cultural relations of the two peoples, of various authors, including E. Boutroux of the French Academy, Dr.

David J. Hill, James H. Hyde, and Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. The last named has also published a volume on *Les Etats-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris, Colin, 1913, pp. ix, 537).

Mr. E. Alexander Powell's *Gentlemen Rovers* (Scribner) presents in popular style, apparently for young readers, and without too much regard for accuracy of historical background, a series of sketches of American adventurers, from John Parker Boyd and William Eaton to Jedediah Smith, Frémont, William Walker, and Frederick Townsend Ward. Truxtun's fight against *L'Insurgente* is placed under the caption "When We Fought Napoleon!"

The Current Literature Publishing Company is sponsor for a collection, in 14 volumes, of *Great Debates in American History, from the Debates in the British Parliament on the Colonial Stamp Act to the Debates in Congress at the Close of the Taft Administration*. The collection is edited by M. M. Miller.

*The Public Library Movement in the United States, 1853-1893*, by S. S. Green of Worcester, former president of the American Library Association, is in great measure biographical in character (Boston Book Company).

The American Antiquarian Society expects to publish, within three or four months, the first part, extending as far in the alphabet as Maine, of a check-list of its American newspapers published before the year 1820. The list will be accompanied with bibliographical notes.

How Bigotry was kept alive by Old-Time Text-Books is the title of an article by the Right Rev. Monsignor P. I. McDevitt in the September number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*.

The April-June number of the *Journal of American History* contains an article on the Rhode Island Cavaliers, by L. N. Nichols. In the July-September number J. F. Mitchell, jr., writes an account of the origin of the rooster as the emblem of the Democratic party.

The April number of the *Magazine of History* contains an article by C. N. Holmes on the Conway Cabal and a letter of Edwin M. Stanton to Rev. Heman Dyer, May 18, 1862, relating to the Peninsular Campaign. The letter is reprinted from the *Congressional Record* of June 8, 1886.

The *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for September comprises a group of twenty-four papers treating various phases of the negro's progress in fifty years.

It is announced that Little, Brown, and Company will publish *Federal Systems of the United States and the British Empire*, by Arthur P. Poley.

George Routledge and Sons are soon to publish *A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912*, by Stanley Johnson.



## ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

*Washington: the Man and the Mason*, by Charles H. Callahan, has been brought out at Alexandria, Virginia, under the auspices of the Memorial Temple Committee of the George Washington Masonic National Memorial Association. This is a well-illustrated volume of 366 pages, and contains much information relating to Washington and his family.

A recent addition to "Hessian" literature is J. C. Döhla's *Tagebuch eines Bayreuther Soldaten aus dem Nordamerikanischen Freiheitskrieg von 1777-1783* (Bayreuth, Grau, 1913).

The Naval History Society has now in press its fourth volume of publications, being vol. I. of *The Out-Letters of the Continental Marine Committee and Board of Admiralty, 1776-1780*, edited by Dr. Charles O. Paullin of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The volume will doubtless be out in February and issued to the members on their 1913 subscriptions. The second volume will follow in the near future. The volume of the *Conyngham Papers* which it had been hoped to publish this year has been unavoidably delayed through the absence abroad of its editor, Mr. James Barnes. The society has also in preparation a volume of the *Papers of Admiral Thomas Graves*, covering the naval operations of 1781 in North American waters, to be edited by Rear-Admiral F. E. Chadwick, U. S. N. retired. These papers will be drawn from the records of the British Admiralty.

It may be useful to note that the document from the Pitt papers at Orwell Park, entitled "Observations on the Trade which before the late war subsisted between Great Britain and that part of America now composing the United States", and dated July 22, 1783, is identical with a paper in the Public Record Office, *C. O. 5: 43*, of similar title (Andrews, *Guide*, I. 123). For the identification we are indebted to Dr. George L. Beer.

Professor Hugh E. Egerton of Oxford is editing for the Roxburghe Club a volume of material relating to the decisions rendered by the Commissioners of 1783 upon the claims of the American Loyalists. The papers have descended from one of the Commissioners, Daniel Parker Coke, who resigned in 1785, so that they relate to but four hundred of the 3400 cases decided; but they are rich in data respecting persons and property.

An account of the commercial relations between France and the United States from 1789 to 1815 will be found in the third series of Julien Hayem's *Mémoires et Documents pour Servir à l'Histoire du Commerce et de l'Industrie en France* (Paris, Hachette, 1913).

The Neale Publishing Company has issued *The Trial of Aaron Burr*, by J. P. Brady.

It is understood that H. W. Dickinson's *Robert Fulton, Engineer and Artist: his Life and Work* (John Lane Company) is based on a careful examination of documentary sources.

*The British Invasion of Maryland, 1812-1815*, by W. M. Marine, is brought out under the auspices of the Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland. It is edited by L. H. Dielman, and an appendix records the military services of more than eleven thousand persons who took part in the war.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge's *One Hundred Years of Peace*, an interpretation of the War of 1812 and a study of the intervening period to the present time, has come from the press (Macmillan).

*The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848*, in two volumes, a history of the relations between the two countries from the independence of Mexico to the close of the war with the United States, by George L. Rives, formerly assistant secretary of state, comes at an opportune time to receive the attention which the work of so competent an authority merits. The book will be reviewed in an early number of this journal.

In her study, *The Baptists and Slavery, 1840-1845* (Ann Arbor, George Wahr, pp. 96), Miss Mary Burnham has done a useful piece of work in bringing together and unifying the detached records of the slavery agitation within an important religious body, which resulted in a latitudinal cleavage in denominational organization. The materials for the study have been gathered largely from little-used sources, such as associational minutes. This limited study is suggestive of a further inquiry into the effect of religious separation upon political cleavage.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams's Oxford lectures of last spring have been issued there by the Clarendon Press in a volume entitled *Trans-Atlantic Historical Solidarity* (pp. 184).

63 Cong., 1 sess., *Senate Document No. 181*, is a reprint of the Constitution of the Confederate States.

The Library of the War Department has issued, as "Subject Catalogue no. 6", a third edition of its *Bibliography of State Participation in the Civil War*, an important guide to a portion of the historical literature of that conflict.

Francis F. Browne's *The Every-Day Life of Abraham Lincoln*, a collection of reminiscences, first published about twenty years after the close of the Civil War, has been brought out in a new, limited edition (two volumes) compressed into about two-thirds of its former compass (Chicago, Browne and Howell).

Mr. Albert E. Pillsbury's *Lincoln and Slavery* (Houghton Mifflin Company) is expanded from an address delivered at Howard University on the fiftieth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. The

author aims to show, largely by means of liberal quotations from Lincoln's utterances, the continuity of his hostility to slavery, from the very beginning of his career, and of his determination to destroy it. This collection of evidences of Lincoln's attitude toward slavery is welcome, but the author's arguments sometimes go farther than even his own thesis demands. The book is not indeed characterized by the highest degree of historical-mindedness, but rather by unswerving devotion to the thesis as well as by devout-mindedness toward Lincoln. It is nevertheless, in part at least, an eloquent tribute to Lincoln.

*A Confederate Girl's Diary* (Houghton Mifflin Company) is the record of a girl's life in Baton Rouge and New Orleans during the Civil War. The writer is Mrs. Sarah Morgan Dawson. Mr. Warrington Dawson supplies an introduction.

*Reminiscences of a Rebel*, by W. F. Dunaway, is from the press of the Neale Publishing Company.

George W. Jacobs and Company have just published, in the series of *American Crisis Biographies*, *Raphael Semmes*, by Dr. Colyer Meriwether.

*Pilot Knob: the Thermopylae of the West*, by C. A. Peterson and J. M. Hanson, is an account of the battle of Pilot Knob, related from the Union point of view (Neale).

Mr. John L. Heaton, an editorial writer on the *New York World*, has related, in a book to which he gives the title *The Story of a Page*, something of the history of that newspaper's editorial policy from the time when it came under the control of Joseph Pulitzer. Naturally the book is also concerned with the politics of the period.

William E. Connelley has brought out, through Browne and Howell of Chicago, *The Life of Preston B. Plumb*, United States senator from Kansas, 1877 to 1891.

The Stafford Little lectures delivered at Princeton University by President Cleveland in 1900, 1901, and 1904, have been published by the Princeton University Press in three volumes under the titles *The Independence of the Executive*, *The Venezuelan Boundary Controversy*, and *The Government in the Chicago Strike of 1894*.

Rear-Admiral Bradley A. Fiske's volume, *War Time in Manila* (Boston, Badger), was largely written, it is understood, in the midst of operations at Manila. It should prove to be an important contribution to the history of the war with Spain.

The *Autobiography* of Theodore Roosevelt has come from the press (Macmillan).

## LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

*Notable Events in the History of Dover, New Hampshire, from the first Settlement in 1623 to 1865*, by George Wadleigh, is published in Dover by the author.

The Vermont Historical Society has presented in its volume of *Proceedings* for the years 1911 and 1912 a varied table of contents. In addition to the routine matter, such as the constitution of the society, its officers, lists of members, reports of the librarian and the treasurer, and accounts of the meetings of 1911 and 1912, there is an address by Rev. Isaac Jennings on the Undoing of Burgoyne, an interesting group of pictures of the state capitol, and an index to the first seventeen volumes of the *Vermont*.

The *History of Ryegate, Vermont*, by Edward Miller and Frederic P. Wells, is in a considerable measure devoted to an account of the Scotch-American Company which was organized in 1773 and established the settlement of Ryegate. Two commissioners were sent over by the company to select lands for settlement, and the journal of one of these, James Whitelaw, describing the voyage and the journey through the middle and southern colonies, is included in the volume, as is also much of the correspondence between the company's managers in Scotland and their agents in America. Special attention is also given to agricultural and educational progress in the community. About half the book is devoted to family history.

In the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for October are found the continuation of the Youthful Recollections of Salem, written by B. F. Browne in 1869, and a list of seamen from Salem impressed by British war vessels, 1800-1813.

The Connecticut Historical Society has printed in a pamphlet of thirty-five pages a useful *List of Congregational Ecclesiastical Societies established in Connecticut before October, 1818, with their Changes*, of value for the history of the "standing order", and in some degree for that of other churches.

The fifteenth annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association was held on September 29 to October 2 at Oswego, New York, and Kingston, Ontario. The addresses were numerous and varied but relating largely to regional history, such as the Fur Traders of Early Oswego, by F. W. Barnes; Kingston and Oswego in 1756, by Professor W. L. Grant; Lake Ontario in History, by Dr. H. W. Elson; Pontiac and Sir William Johnson, by James T. Clarke; the Cornbury Legend, by Professor C. W. Spencer of Princeton University; the Bay of Quinte Settlements during the War of 1812, by C. M. Warner; and the Settlement of the St. Lawrence Valley, by Irving Bacheller. Other noteworthy addresses were the presidential address, the Evolution of History, by Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe; Education during the Dutch Period in New York, by George A. Plimpton; and the Loyalist Migration Overland, by W. S. Wallace of McMaster University.

The October number of *Olde Ulster* contains a sketch of Colonel Zadock Pratt, member of Congress from New York, 1836-1838, and 1842-1844, credited with having had an important part in securing the establishment of the bureau of statistics.

Daniel Van Winkle of Jersey City has brought out *A Genealogy of the Van Winkle Family: Account of its Origin and Settlement in this Country, with Data, 1630-1911*. The book includes a description of the village of Winkel in Holland (with illustrations), and also some account of the habits and customs of the early Dutch settlers.

*Gouldtown: a very Remarkable Settlement of Ancient Date*, by William Steward and Rev. Theophilus G. Steward, is the history, largely genealogical, of a settlement of mixed bloods (English, Dutch, African, and Indian) near the town of Bridgeton, New Jersey. One line of descent comes from John Fenwick, the founder of the Quaker colony at Salem, New Jersey. A number of persons from this group have attained prominence and distinction. The interest of the book for the general reader is chiefly ethnological (Lippincott).

The Pennsylvania legislature have provided for the reprinting of the publication known as *The Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania* and have placed Mr. Thomas L. Montgomery, the state librarian, in charge of the work. Any changes or corrections which students think desirable for the new edition will be given due attention by Mr. Montgomery if presented to him.

The contents of the July number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* include "The Building of the Fleet", an historical address delivered by Francis N. Thorpe at Erie on July 8, on the occasion of the centennial commemoration of Perry's victory, and the Crisis in the Early Life of General Peter Muhlenberg, by Rev. William Germann, translated from the German by Helen Bebel. The article consists largely of extracts from letters to and from Muhlenberg, 1765-1766, compiled from the originals at Halle. The principal documents in the number are some letters from George Haworth, 1699-1722, to members of his family in England, descriptive of life in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and selections from the correspondence (1776-1793) of General Stephen Moylan.

The Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies has published the *Acts and Proceedings* of the federation at its eighth annual meeting, held at Harrisburg on January 16, 1913. The address of the president, Professor Herman V. Ames, sets forth what the federation has been doing, and is rich in suggestions of what the organization or its constituent members might do to further historical interests in Pennsylvania. One of the functions of the federation is to unite historical activities in the state, and its efforts to this end have had a commendable measure of success. An exhibit of the activities of the numerous historical societies com-

posing the federation forms a part of these *Acts and Proceedings*. Something also has been accomplished by the committee which is working for the better preservation of manuscript records in local repositories.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September contains a biographical sketch of Jacob Hall, Surgeon and Educator, 1747-1812, by J. Hall Pleasants, and a letter from J. J. Ulrich Rivardi to Governor Thomas Sim Lee (April 13, 1794) concerning the plans of Fort McHenry. The letters of Rev. Jonathan Boucher (1774-1775), Land Notes, 1634-1655, and Vestry Proceedings, St. Ann's Parish, Annapolis, are continued.

*The Life and Times of Thomas John Claggett, first Bishop of Maryland and the first Bishop consecrated in America*, by George B. Utley, is from the press of Donnelley.

The Virginia State Library *Bulletin*, vol. VI, nos. 3 and 4 (double number), is *An Author and Subject Index to the Southern Historical Society Papers, Vols. I.-XXXVIII.* (pp. 139), compiled by Mrs. Kate Pleasants Minor, reference librarian. An excellent and useful piece of work might have been made more satisfactory by the use of different types for author and subject.

The contents of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for October include a continuation of the commissions and instructions to the Earl of Orkney for the government of Virginia (from the Randolph manuscript), a group of papers relating to the proceedings of the commissioners sent to suppress Bacon's Rebellion, instructions from the Lords of Trade and Plantations to Governor Nicholson (August 21 and December 4, 1700), an agreement between England and Algiers in regard to English ships (August 17, 1700), instructions from the Admiralty to Captain Edward Nevill concerning the protection of the Virginia and Maryland coast from pirates (February 17, 1700), an inventory of the estate of Philip Ludwell (about 1767), and an additional installment of the notes of C. A. Flagg and W. O. Waters of the Library of Congress concerning Virginia soldiers in the Revolution.

In the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* for October Professor N. W. Stephenson of the College of Charleston begins the study of "Some Inner History of the Virginia Company", and Mr. E. I. Miller presents an account of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence of 1773-1775. Some notes from the records of York County are printed in this issue and will be continued.

The North Carolina Library Commission has brought out *A Select Bibliography of North Carolina: List of Books for Schools, Libraries, and Amateurs*, by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks. The list, about seventy items, is limited (or very nearly so) to books that are easily obtained. Each item is accompanied by a brief critical note.



Professors W. K. Boyd and J. G. de R. Hamilton are the joint authors of *A Syllabus of North Carolina History, 1584-1876* (Durham, the Seeman Printery, pp. 101). This syllabus, although prepared especially for use in the two institutions represented by the authors, namely, Trinity College and the University of North Carolina, will be of use to students of North Carolina history generally, as it greatly clarifies the view of the state's development. There is a selected list of sources and authorities, and there are also special references appended to each topical section, where practically everything that has been written within the state has been brought into service. There are some omissions of accessible authorities that cannot be accounted for.

Volume XII, no. 1 of *The James Sprunt Historical Publications* contains a paper on the Governor, Council, and Assembly in Royal North Carolina, by C. S. Cooke, and one on Land Tenure in Proprietary North Carolina, by L. N. Morgan. No. 2 consists of a monograph on the North Carolina Indians, by J. H. Rand.

Mr. William H. Ellison contributes to the October number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* a history of the movement for state division of California, 1849-1860. The study of the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, by Professor I. J. Cox, and the British correspondence concerning Texas, edited by Professor E. D. Adams, are continued.

Professor Frederick J. Turner has prepared for use in his classes in Harvard University a *List of References on the History of the West* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, pp. 129). The references are arranged chronologically and topically and cover all phases of the westward movement of population, life and industry in the West, the influence of the West upon the East and upon the union, Western ideals, etc. The list will be of great use to students and teachers of American history.

The seventh annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association was held at Lexington, Kentucky, on October 23 to 25. Papers read at the sessions were: the Beginning of American Expansion, by Professor Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina; Before the Gates of the Wilderness Road, by Judge Lyman Chalkley; Early Legislative Petitions, by Professor James R. Robertson; Relations between Generals Wayne and Wilkinson in the Campaigns of 1793 and 1794, by Professor R. C. McGrane; the Burr Conspiracy, by Miss Leslie Henshaw; the Settling of Cincinnati from Lexington and the Influence of Robert Patterson, by Miss Marie Dicore; the Early Influence of Transylvania University upon Education in the West, by Professor J. B. McCartney; the Influence of Kentucky upon Early Religious Development of Southwestern Ohio, by Professor Jesse Johnson; and the Historic Value of Kentucky Folk-Songs, by Professor H. G. Shearin. Dr. J. M. Callahan, professor of history and political science at the West

Virginia University, was elected president for the ensuing year, and Charleston, West Virginia, was selected as the place for holding the next annual meeting of the association.

The January-March number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* is composed of an interesting though all too brief study of the Relation of Southern Ohio to the South during the Decade preceding the Civil War, by David C. Shilling. A double number for April-June and July-September is occupied by Documents relating to Zachariah Cox (pp. 114), edited by Isaac J. Cox, assisted by R. C. McGrane. Cox's land-grabbing schemes, particularly his project of a commercial settlement at the bend of the Tennessee River, form one of the interesting episodes in southwestern history in that period of troublous ferment between 1785 and the Louisiana Purchase. The principal document included in this collection is a reprint of a pamphlet (now very rare) brought out by Cox in Nashville in 1799, entitled, *An Estimate of Commercial Advantages by Way of the Mississippi and Mobile Rivers, to the Western Country*, etc. In addition are included some pertinent documents found in the archives of Tennessee, principally letters of John Sevier.

The contents of the July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* include the Early French Settlements on the Great Lakes, by John M. Bulkley, the Tammany Society in Ohio, by S. W. Williams, Old Fort Sandoski of 1745, by G. F. Wright, and a speech of Richard Douglas delivered before the Whig convention held in Columbus, February 22 and 23, 1836.

The *Financial History of Ohio* (*University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, vol. I., nos. 1 and 2), by Professor E. L. Bogart, is a thorough and intelligent study of the financial legislation and administration and of taxation in Ohio from the territorial status to the present time.

The *Indiana Magazine of History* for September contains Professor J. A. Woodburn's paper on Indiana History and Celebration which was read before the history section of the state teachers' association in May; an article by W. C. Gerichs on the Ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in Indiana; and a sketch of William Hendricks, United States senator from Indiana, 1825-1837.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1911 have been published as *Publication*, no. 16, of the Illinois State Historical Library. The volume includes the society's official proceedings for the year and a number of papers, most of which were read before the society. The most important of these are: Thomas Sloo, jr., a Typical Politician of Early Illinois, by Professor I. J. Cox; the Development of State Constitutions, by Professor C. B. Coleman; Southern Illinois in the Civil War, by Bluford Wilson; and Governor Thomas Ford in Ogle County, by Mrs. Rebecca H. Kauffman.

The board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library have been endeavoring, in accordance with a resolution of the general assembly of the state, to determine the exact route travelled by Abraham Lincoln in his removal from Kentucky to Illinois. A preliminary report of the investigations, which were intrusted to Mr. Charles M. Thompson of the University of Illinois, is now printed with the title *The Lincoln Way*.

The *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, vol. XX. (pp. xxi, 497), edited by the late Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, embraces documentary material relating to the Wisconsin fur-trade for the period 1817 to 1825 (with two documents antedating this period), continuing the series begun in volume XIX. of the *Collections*. The period covered by the volume is characterized especially by rivalries between private traders and companies, by the abolition of the government factory system (an end effected chiefly by the American Fur Company), and by general disintegration of the old system of fur-trading. The closing document in the volume is the journal (July, 1803, to June, 1804) of Michel Curot, a Wisconsin fur-trader. This journal is found among the Canadian archives at Ottawa, as is also the opening document of the volume; the other documents are drawn either from the manuscripts of the society or from the government archives in Washington. The editing has been done in Dr. Thwaites's usual admirable manner.

*Bulletin of Information*, no. 67, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin is a *Check-List of Publications* of the society, 1850-1913 (pp. 56), compiled by Dr. R. G. Thwaites and Miss A. A. Nunns. The check-list sets forth the principal contents of the volumes and also includes a list of the separates issued. *Bulletin of Information*, no. 69, is a *List of Periodical Sets* in the libraries of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the University of Wisconsin that are indexed in Poole's *Index* and similar publications.

Miss Lillian M. Wilson contributes to the October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* an account of the establishment by Hungarian refugees of the colony of New Buda in Decatur County, Iowa, including interesting sketches of several of these Hungarian patriots, among them Count Ladislaus Ujházy, Ladislaus Madarasz, Francis Varga, Ignace Hainer, and Stephen Radnich. Under the title "Old Fort Madison: Some Source Material" is reprinted from the *Michigan Pioneer Collections* "A Personal Narrative", together with some additional material relating to Fort Madison from *American State Papers*, *Indian Affairs* and from Niles's *Weekly Register*. Mr. Jacob Van der Zee furnishes explanatory notes and references. An extended résumé of the work of the thirty-fifth general assembly of Iowa is contributed by F. E. Horack.

The State Historical Society of Iowa will bring out shortly a *History of the Quakers in Iowa*, by Louis T. Jones.

In the July issue of the *Missouri Historical Review* Olive Baker writes of Life and Influence of Danville and Danville Township, and Cornelius Roach gives a summary account of Missouri's Eleven State Capitols; while in the October issue Captain George S. Grover describes somewhat casually political conditions and military operations in Missouri during the Civil War. Some letters of the Rev. Montgomery Schuyler to James R. Doolittle, printed in this issue, are of interest.

*The Trail of Lewis and Clark: a Story of the Great Exploration across the Continent, 1804-1806*, in two volumes, by O. D. Wheeler, has been published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Journal of Sergeant Ordway, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, a voluminous record running from May 14, 1804, to September 30, 1805, has recently been discovered among the papers of Nicholas Biddle, and presented to the American Philosophical Society.

A. C. McClurg and Company have published *The Story of the Pony Express: an Account of the most remarkable Mail Service ever in Existence, and its Place in History*, by G. D. Bradley.

Benjamin M. Read, of Santa Fé, New Mexico, is the author and publisher of an *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, a volume of more than 800 pages, printed both in English and in Spanish. It is understood that Mr. Read possesses a considerable collection of manuscript and other materials for the history of New Mexico, and in addition has had access to other little-used materials, such as the records in the College of the Christian Brothers of Santa Fé. The same writer has prepared a *Chronological Digest* of the great collection of documentary materials published under the title *Documentos inéditos de las Indias*.

The October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* is devoted principally to articles relating to the state constitution. The principal paper is that on the origin of the constitution, by L. J. Knapp, who gathered his information from newspapers of the time and from survivors of the convention. The debates and proceedings of the convention were never printed. Two other papers, Notes on the Constitutional Convention, by John R. Kinnear, and the Constitution of the State and its Effects upon Public Interests, by Theodore L. Stiles, are of the nature of appendixes to Mr. Knapp's study. The reprinting of Wilkes's *History of Oregon* continues.

The pages of the March number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are occupied in the main with a reprint (from 30 Cong., 1 sess., *House Misc. No. 29*) of the report of Lieutenant Neil M. Howison of the U. S. Navy of the result of his examination of the coast, harbors, etc., of Oregon in 1846.

*A Financial History of California* (*University of California Publications in Economics*, vol. III., no. 2, pp. 101-408), by William C. Fankhauser, is a well-executed study of the public revenues, debts, and expendi-

tures of the state from 1850 to 1910, with some introductory pages concerning the Spanish revenue laws, the Mexican commercial regulations and customs duties, the so-called "civil fund" of 1847-1849, and the financial arrangements made by the constitutional convention of 1849. The volume contains not a little material of interest to the student of the political history of California, for instance, in the pages given to the constitutional convention of 1878-1879. It should be of great service to legislators and officials of other states.

The Abbé H. R. Casgrain, professor in the University of Quebec, has written *Montcalm et Lévis: les Français au Canada* (Tours, Mame, 1913, pp. 328). Another volume of French Canadian history is André Chagny's *Un Défenseur de la Nouvelle France, François Picquet, "Le Canadien", 1708-1781* (Paris, Plon, 1913).

The *Papers and Records* of the Ontario Historical Society, vol. X., comprises a group of seven papers, six of which relate to the War of 1812. The career and character of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock are set forth with appreciative enthusiasm by J. A. Macdonnell, K. C.; Lieutenant-Colonel Cole contributes an important despatch from Colonel Lethbridge to General Brock (August 10, 1812); Lieutenant-Colonel W. S. Buell recounts the military movements in eastern Ontario; Mr. Francis Cleary describes the defense of Essex; Professor Adam Shortt presents a study of the economic effect of the war on Upper Canada; and Mr. Frank H. Severance gives an instructive account of collections of historical material relating to the war. The one paper not directly concerned with the War of 1812 is by Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites upon Romantic Elements in the History of the Mississippi Valley. The *Annual Report* of the society for the year, 1913, has also appeared. It embodies the proceedings of the annual meeting held at Chatham, Ontario, on September 10 to 13, including the address of the president, Mr. John Dearness, a discussion of some deficiencies and problems in the teaching of history. The society has actively interested itself of late in the marking of historic sites, and a list of the tablets, memorials, and monuments recently erected is included in this report. The papers read at these sessions for the most part dealt with questions of Indian history, but there were two exceptions that may be noted: an address by Mr. William Houston on the institutional development of Canada, and one on the defense of the western district, 1812-1814, by Lieutenant-Colonel J. S. Black of Detroit.

*Bulletin* no. 9 (October) of the Departments of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, is *British Supremacy and Canadian Autonomy: an Examination of Early Victorian Opinion concerning Canadian Self-Government*. The author limits his inquiry to those individuals and groups whose opinions had a direct influence on events, discarding, for example, the opinions of the British populace and the British press.

The American Antiquarian Society has recently been presented with a large mass of West Indian newspapers of the period from 1790 to 1885 and including files from Antigua, Barbados, Grenada, Nevis, St. Christopher, and St. Lucia.

Among the documents printed in the January-February number (vol. XII., no. 1) of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Havana) are two letters from the Captain-General of Cuba in April and June, 1841, to the Ministro de Ultramar and the Ministro de Estado, respectively, relating to the slavery problem, and particularly concerning the activities of David Turnbull, British consul at Havana; some information transmitted (April, 1878) by the Spanish minister in Washington relative to preparations for filibustering expeditions, implicating General "William J." [William F.] Smith; and the address (translated into Spanish) of Dr. Dunbar Rowland before the International Congress of Archivists and Librarians, held in Brussels in 1910.

In the *History of the Discovery and Conquest of Costa Rica*, by Ricardo Fernández Guardia, translated by H. J. W. Van Dyke (Crowell), the author, an ex-minister of foreign affairs and public instruction of Costa Rica, outlines the early history of the country, the process of division, and the establishment of regular government.

The July number of the *Bulletin of Bibliography* contains a preliminary list of the national bibliographies of the South American republics.

C. A. Villanueva is the author of *La Monarquía en América; Bolívar y el General San Martín* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1912, pp. viii, 287). The same writer has prepared a handbook of American history in Spanish, *Resúmen de la Historia General de América* (Paris, Garnier, 1913).

*Capítulos de una Historia Civil y Militar de Colombia*, cuarta serie (Bogotá, Imprenta Eléctrica, 1913, pp. iv, 160), by Francisco Javier Vergara y Velasco, comprises eight chapters on detached phases of Colombian history. The most noteworthy of these is upon the religion of the Chibchas.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. D. Scisco, *The Track of Ponce de Leon in 1513* (Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, XLV. 10); M. W. Jernegan, *A Forgotten Slavery of Colonial Days* [white servitude] (Harper's Monthly, October); H. E. Egerton, *The American Revolution and Imperial Union* (United Empire, October); T. N. Page, *The Romantic Founding of Washington* (Scribner's Magazine, September); R. W. Neeser, *The Battle of Lake Erie, September 10, 1813* (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, September); A. R. H. Ranson, *Reminiscences of the Civil War* (Sewanee Review, October); *id.*, *New Stories of Lee and Jackson* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Mary A. Jackson, *With "Stonewall" Jackson in Camp* (Hearst's Magazine, September); *id.*, *Some War-Time Letters of "Stonewall" Jackson*



(*ibid.*, October); C. O. Paullin, *A Half Century of Naval Administration, 1861-1911*, V., VI., VII. (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, September); L. B. Boudin, *Der Kampf der Arbeiterklasse gegen die Richterliche Gewalt in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung, IV. 1); E. Gérardin, *La Question de l'Arbitrage aux Conférences Panaméricaines* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, September); P. F. Brissenden, *The Launching of the Industrial Workers of the World* (University of California Publications in Economics, IV. 1).

## ERRATUM.

On page 66 of the October number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW the statement is made that Congress passed the act relating to "captured and abandoned property" on March 12, 1863. This act was passed by the Senate on March 2, and by the House on March 3.

## LIST OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN HISTORY NOW IN PROGRESS AT THE CHIEF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES, DECEMBER, 1913

[In 1897 the compiler of this list began the practice of collecting, from professors of American history having charge of candidates for the doctor's degree, lists of the subjects of their dissertations. These were then circulated among the professors, in typewritten form, to avoid duplication and for other purposes. Subsequently the list was enlarged to include all subjects, and not solely the American. In 1902 the practice began of printing the lists. That for December, 1909, was accompanied by a list of those historical dissertations which had been printed. The list for December, 1912, was printed in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for January, 1913. Henceforward, it may be expected that such lists will appear annually in the January number of this journal. Copies of the printed lists for the years 1904, 1906, and 1909-1911, can still be supplied by the compiler (J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.); the last, 1912, can be obtained from the publishers of the *History Teacher's Magazine*, 1621 Ransstead street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.]

### GENERAL

- A. R. Morgan, A.B. California 1909; A.M. Chicago 1912. The History of Ecclesiastical Legislation concerning Divorce, especially in Modern Times. *Chicago*.  
E. P. Smith, A.B. Women's College of Baltimore 1904; A.M. Columbia 1909. History of the Opposition to the Theory of Evolution. *Columbia*.

### ANCIENT HISTORY

- A. S. Anspacher, A.B. Cincinnati 1900. Tiglath-Pileser II. *Columbia*.  
S. G. Dunseath, A.B. Ursinus 1910; A.M. Columbia 1911. An Economic Interpretation of Hebrew History from the Egyptian Bondage to the Fall of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. *Columbia*.  
George Dahl, A.B. Yale 1908, A.M. 1909. The History of the City of Dor, Syria. *Yale*.  
W. B. Fleming, A.B. Muskingum 1894, A.M. 1897; B.D. Drew 1897. History of the City of Tyre. *Columbia*.  
Oric Bates, A.B. Harvard 1905. The History of Cyrene. *Harvard*.  
C. W. Blegen, A.B. Minnesota 1907; A.B. Yale 1908. Studies in the History of Ancient Corinth. *Yale*.  
R. V. Cram, A.B. Harvard 1907, A.M. 1908. Studies in the History of Attic Demes. *Harvard*.  
E. C. Hunsden, A.B. Columbia 1908. History of the Delphic Amphictyony. *Columbia*.  
H. P. Arnold, A.B. Harvard 1906, A.M. 1907. Chronology of Delos, 314-166 B. C. *Harvard*.

- A. E. R. Boak, A.B. Queen's 1907; A.M. Harvard 1911. *The Roman Magistri: a Study in Constitutional History. Harvard.*
- S. P. R. Chadwick, A.B. Harvard 1892, A.M. 1899. *The Conditions of Italian Colonization during the Government of the Roman Senate. Harvard.*
- R. N. Blews, A.B. Greenville 1904. *The Lex Julia Municipalis. Cornell.*
- W. E. Caldwell, A.B. Cornell 1910. *Roman Society under the Julian and Claudian Principles. Columbia.*
- Maud Hamilton, A.B. Cornell 1902. *The Sources of Metal and Ore Supplies in the Roman Empire. Wisconsin.*
- R. P. Blake, A.B. California 1908; A.M. Harvard 1909. *Imperial Legislation on Religious Matters during the Later Roman Empire. Harvard.*
- Dora Askowith, A.B. Barnard 1908; A.M. Columbia 1909. *Documents on the History of the Jews during the Roman Empire. Columbia.*
- R. R. Powell, A.B. Rochester 1911. *The Development in Roman and in English Law of Remedies against Fraud. Columbia.*

#### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

- C. H. Lyttle, A.B. Western Reserve 1907, A.M. 1908; B.D. Meadville 1910. *Bar-Daisan of Edessa: his Influence upon the Doctrines of Mani the Persian. Harvard.*
- Maude A. Huttman, B.S. Columbia 1904, A.M. 1905. *Persecution and Toleration in the Early Fourth Century. Columbia.*
- Dudley Tyng, A.B. Harvard 1902, A.M. 1904; B.D. Episcopal Theological School 1909. *Theodore of Mopsuestia. Harvard.*

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY

- J. E. Wrench, A.B. Cornell 1906. *The Muslim Conquest of Asia Minor. Wisconsin.*
- T. P. Oakley, A.B. Columbia 1909. *The Penitentials. Columbia.*
- T. C. Van Cleve, A.B. Missouri 1911. *The Celtic Element in the Civilization of the Carolingian Empire. Wisconsin.*
- H. H. Maurer, A.B. Wisconsin 1907, A.M. 1909. *The Judicial Organization in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Old French Procedure. Chicago.*
- A. C. Krey, A.B. Wisconsin 1907, A.M. 1908. *The Latin Patriarchate in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Wisconsin.*
- E. H. Byrne, Litt.B. Wisconsin 1903. *Genoese Colonies in Syria, 1100-1300. Wisconsin.*
- M. R. Gutsch, A.B. Wisconsin 1908, A.M. 1909. *Preparations for the Fourth Crusade. Wisconsin.*
- J. R. Knipping, A.B. Cornell 1911. *The Social Activities of the Franciscans in Western Europe during the Thirteenth Century. Columbia.*

- R. A. Newhall, A.B. Minnesota 1910, A.M. 1911. *The English in Normandy in the Period of the Hundred Years' War.* *Harvard.*
- C. O. Hardy, A.B. Ottawa 1904. *The Regency of the Duke of Bedford in Normandy, 1422-1435.* *Chicago.*

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

- A. P. Evans, A.B. Cornell 1911. *Religious Tolerance in the Age of the Reformation (1516-1530).* *Cornell.*
- F. E. Held, A.B. Emporia 1902, A.M. 1908. *Johann Valentine Andreä's Christianapolis and the Utopias of the Seventeenth Century.* *Illinois.*
- N. A. Olsen, A.B. Luther 1907; A.M. Wisconsin 1909. *Trade Relations between England and the Scandinavian Countries from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century.* *Harvard.*
- E. W. Pahlow, Litt.B. Wisconsin 1899; A.M. Harvard 1901. *The Diplomatic Relations between England and Holland, 1668 to 1672.* *Harvard.*
- Anne E. Burlingame, A.B. Syracuse 1900; A.M. Columbia 1910. *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England and France in the Eighteenth Century.* *Columbia.*
- F. M. Russell, A.B. Leland Stanford 1912, A.M. 1913. *American Governmental Interest in and Participation in European Affairs.* *Leland Stanford.*
- H. N. Sherwood, A.B. Indiana 1909; A.M. Harvard 1910. *The Relations of the United States with Spain, 1780-1795.* *Harvard.*
- A. L. Kohlmeier, A.B. Indiana 1908, A.M. Harvard 1911. *Commerce between the United States and the Dutch from 1783 to 1789.* *Harvard.*
- J. A. C. Mason, A.B. Toronto 1905. *The Continental System and the Orders in Council.* *Columbia.*
- Peter Hoekstra, A.B. Michigan 1910, A.M. 1911. *The Relations between the United States and the Netherlands, 1815-1840.* *Pennsylvania.*
- Dexter Perkins, A.B. Harvard 1909. *The Early Effects of the Monroe Doctrine in Europe.* *Harvard.*

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

- W. O. Ault, A.B. Baker 1907; B.A. Oxford 1910. *The Private Court in England.* *Yale.*
- J. E. Miller, A.B. Kansas 1910; A.M. Illinois 1913. *Benefit of Clergy in England.* *Illinois.*
- M. R. Logan, A.B. Goucher 1904; Ph.M. Chicago 1906. *Sumptuary Legislation in England.* *Johns Hopkins.*
- C. A. Smith, A.B. Kansas 1908; A.M. Yale 1909. *The English Liberty (Immunity).* *Yale.*
- Carl Stephenson, A.B. De Pauw 1907, A.M. 1908. *The Military Obligations of English Boroughs.* *Harvard.*
- James Kenny, A.B. Toronto 1907; A.M. Wisconsin 1908. *An Introduction to the Sources for the Early History of Ireland.* *Columbia.*

- C. W. David, B.A. Oxford 1911; A.M. Wisconsin 1912. The Reign of Henry II. in Relation to Literature and Learning. *Harvard*.
- H. H. Holt, B.A. Oxford 1908; A.M. Wisconsin 1909. The Cost of Living in England, 1172-1183. *Wisconsin*.
- H. A. Kellar, A.B. Chicago 1909. King John: the Interdict and Exchequer. *Wisconsin*.
- Lyman Howes, A.B. Leland Stanford 1906; A.M. Columbia 1911. Educational Theories and Educational Influence of Roger Bacon. *Columbia*.
- Sarah W. Davis, A.B. Mount Holyoke 1909, A.M. 1910. A Study of Assarts in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. *Bryn Mawr*.
- P. G. Mode, A.B. McMaster 1897, A.M. 1898, Th.B. 1899. The Influence of the Black Death on the Church in England. *Chicago*.
- A. L. Rowland, A.B. Temple 1908; A.M. Pennsylvania 1911. English Trade in the Mediterranean in the Sixteenth Century. *Pennsylvania*.
- Susan M. Lough, Ph.B. Chicago 1907, Ph.M. 1909. Administration of Ireland in the time of Elizabeth. *Chicago*.
- A. B. Stonex, A.B. Indiana 1906, A.M. 1907. The Usurer in the Time of Elizabeth. *Pennsylvania*.
- H. M. Wriston, A.B. Wesleyan 1911, A.M. 1912. The English Monarchomachs. *Harvard*.
- T. R. Galbraith, B.S. Pennsylvania 1897. The First Five Years of the British East India Company. *Pennsylvania*.
- R. B. Westerfield, A.B. Ohio Northern University 1907, A.M. 1910; A.M. Yale 1911. The Mercantile Organization in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. *Yale*.
- F. W. Pitman, Ph.B. Yale 1904, A.M. 1906. The History of the Sugar Industry in the British Empire in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. *Yale*.
- A. J. Klein, A.B. Wabash 1906; B.D. Union Theological Seminary 1909; A.M. Columbia 1909. The Sources for Tolerance in England during the Reign of James I. *Columbia*.
- F. A. Cleveland, A.B. Cornell 1899. Lord Broghill and the Rebellion in Ireland, 1641-1648. *Harvard*.
- T. C. Pease, Ph.B. Chicago 1907. John Lilburn and the Levellers. *Chicago*.
- A. C. Dudley, Princeton Theological Seminary 1907. The Clarendon Code in England, 1660-1689. *Johns Hopkins*.
- Violet Barbour, A.B. Cornell 1906, A.M. 1909. Henry Bennet, First Earl of Arlington. *Cornell*.
- P. C. Galpin, A.B. Yale 1910, A.M. 1912. The Rise of Political Non-conformity in England after 1660. *Yale*.
- D. C. MacBryde, A.B. Washington and Lee 1896; A.M. Yale 1912. Sir Roger North and the Tory Pamphleteers, 1660-1700. *Yale*.
- G. F. Zook, A.B. Kansas 1906, A.M. 1907. The Royal African Company (1662-1715). *Cornell*.

- E. B. Russell, Ph.B. Vermont 1906. Action of the Privy Council on Colonial Legislation. *Columbia*.
- O. H. Draper, A.B. Johns Hopkins 1910; B.D. Drew 1912. Ecclesiastical Politics under James II. *Columbia*.
- Alden Anderson, A.B. Bethany 1910. British Trade in the Baltic in the Eighteenth Century. *Yale*.
- J. R. H. Moore, A.B. Boston 1899, A.M. 1906. The English Colonial System under the Hanoverians. *Harvard*.
- Mary G. Young, A.B. Cornell 1898, A.M. 1908. The Organization of the Whig Party under Sir Robert Walpole. *Yale*.
- E. M. North, A.B. Wesleyan 1909; A.M. Columbia 1910. Some Social Consequences of the Wesleyan Revival. *Columbia*.
- L. S. Mayo, A.B. Harvard 1910, A.M. 1911. The Political and Military Career of Jeffrey Amherst. *Harvard*.
- F. F. Rosenblatt, A.B. Columbia 1907, A.M. 1908. History of the Chartist Movement. *Columbia*.
- B. E. Schmitt, B.A. Oxford 1908; Ph.D. Wisconsin 1910. British Policy and the Enforcement of the Treaty of Berlin. *Wisconsin*.

**FRANCE**

- C. G. Kelley, A.B. Johns Hopkins 1908. French Protestantism on the Eve of the Religious Wars, 1559-1562. *Johns Hopkins*.
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